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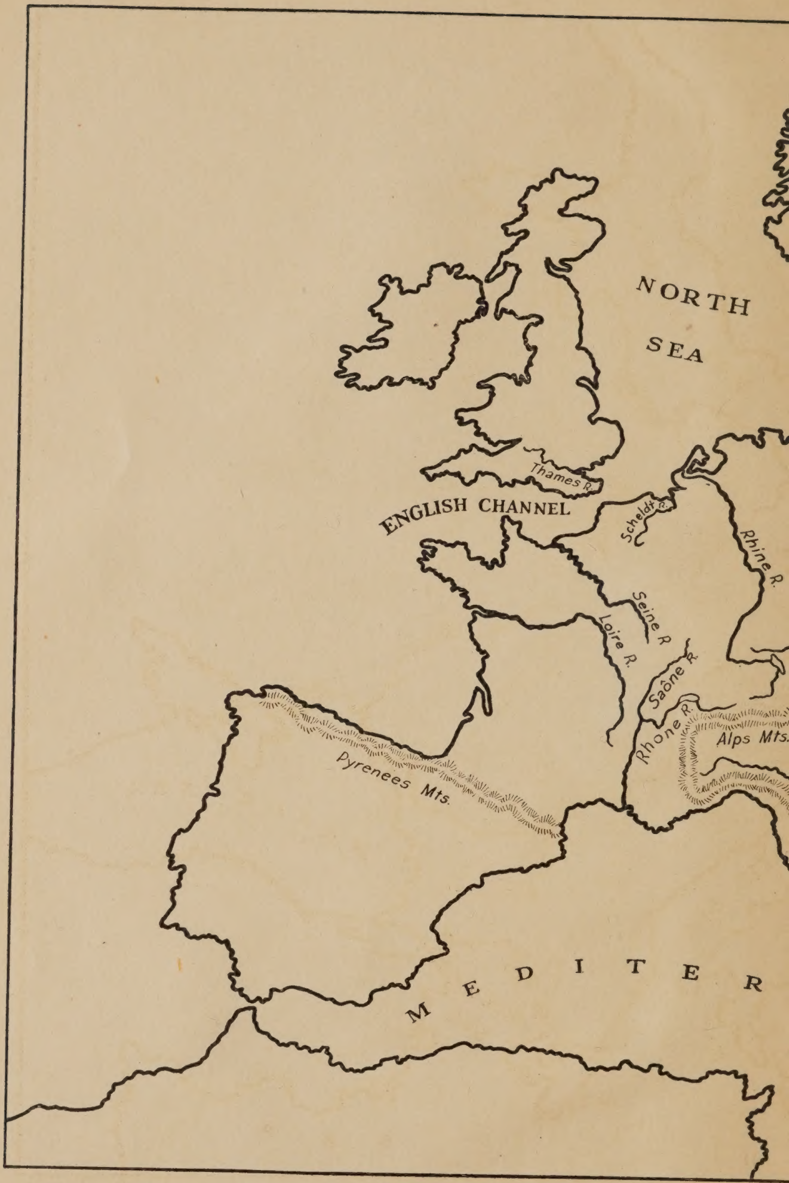
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EUROPE

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BY
HASTINGS EELLS
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN
OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

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To

AMY MY WIFE

AND

BILLY MY LITTLE BOY

PREFACE

The main reason for writing this history of modern Europe has been to provide a textbook which shall be as teachable as possible. In order to accomplish this end the following features have been adopted. The chapters are divided equally so as to simplify the task of the teacher in making assignments. An analytical outline is given in the margin to aid both in reading and studying the text. The major and minor dates have been separated by including only the major dates in the text and placing the minor dates in the margin. Wherever unusual words or phrases occur, a definition is given in a parenthetical statement. Each chapter contains a list of suggested books and readings which is usually divided into three parts: a group of selected readings which may be used for additional assignments; a list of famous contemporary books which have influenced the development of Europe; and a brief bibliography of standard historical works for special study. Finally, a new system of study maps is used, and since this differs from the type of maps in vogue, a few words of explanation may help in their use.

There is a map to illustrate each chapter or group of related chapters. The page of the map connected with any one chapter may be learned by referring to the list of maps. On each map is located every geographical feature necessary to an understanding of the chapter or group of chapters which it illustrates. No other geographical features will be found on the map. This makes it easier for the student to find the features in which he is interested and to study the map effectively. All places located on the maps are listed in the index with the page of the map.

In studying the maps, the following suggestions may be found helpful. The relief map placed in the front of the book should be memorized so that the student can identify at once the rivers, mountains and seas located upon it. He should be able to form a mental picture of them so that he can describe their location. This is important because the rivers, mountains and seas of Europe correspond to the streets and public squares of a city. In order to locate a house in a city, it is necessary to know the street and number. Likewise, in locating a place in Europe it is best to describe it as located on some river, for example, or between two rivers, or north of certain mountains. Such a location is more easily remembered than any other, and, while it is not highly accurate, it is sufficiently definite to help a student to find the place upon a map. It is a far more satisfactory method than to locate a place as in a certain country, because in the course of history the boundaries and names of the countries have sometimes changed, while the rivers, mountains and seas have remained the same.

After the relief map has been thoroughly memorized, the other maps should be studied with at least two purposes in mind. First, the student should learn from the map the location of every place upon it so that he can describe it with reference to some river, mountain or sea. For example, Paris should be described as located on the central part of the Seine, Milan as north of the central part of the Po, Berlin as between the Elbe and the Oder, and Vienna as on the Danube between the Alps and the Carpathians. Second, he should be able to state the historical importance of every geographical feature of the map with reference to the chapter which it illustrates. For example, from the map for Chapter I he should learn that Mainz is a city located on the west bank of the central part of the Rhine, and that it is important because it was the home of John Gutenberg, to whom the invention of moveable type has been ascribed.

The system of study maps used in this book will also be found useful for map tests. In some cases the student may be asked merely to write out a description of the location and the historical importance of certain places. In others he may be asked to trace the relief map in the front of the book and then locate upon it places selected from the other maps. In addition he should give a statement of their historical importance.

This book is the product of my experience as a teacher. For that reason it is my highest ambition that it may be of real value to other teachers in solving the everyday problems of classroom work.

For valuable assistance in correcting the proof I am deeply indebted to the following: Dr. Charles M. Andrews, Dr. George W. Beiswanger, Dr. J. Duncan Brite, Dr. H. C. Hubbart, Dr. A. Conn Klinger, Dr. Frederick W. Loetscher, Dr. Arthur J. May, Dr. Claude E. O'Neal, Dr. Chalfant Robinson, Dr. Laurence M. Sears, Dr. Preserved Smith, Dr. W. M. Strachan, Dr. Albert Suthers, Dr. C. E. Van Sickle and Dr. Wellman J. Warner.

HASTINGS EELLS

Delaware, Ohio.

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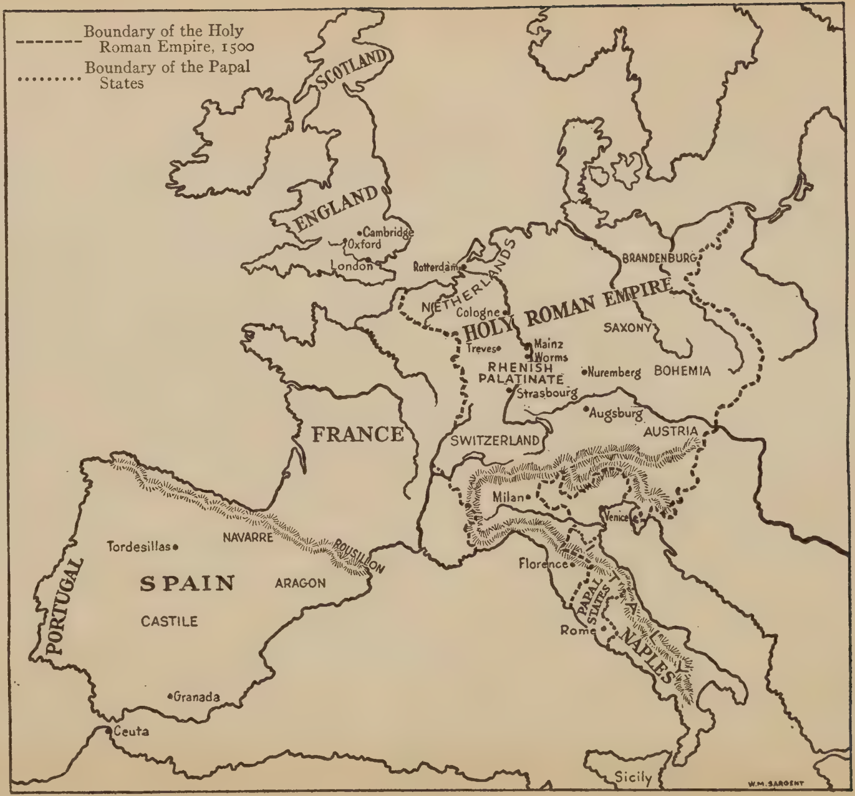
EUROPE SINCE 1500


Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire, 1500
Boundary of the Papal States
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
Cambridge
Oxford
London
Rotterdam
NETHERLANDS
Cologne
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
Treves
Mainz
Worms
RHENISH PALATINATE
Nuremberg
BOHEMIA
Strasbourg
Augsburg
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Milan
Venice
Florence
ITALY
PAPAL STATES
Rome
NAPLES
Sicily
NAVARRE
ROUSILLON
Tordesillas
SPAIN
ARAGON
CASTILE
PORTUGAL
Granada
Ceuta
W.M. SARGENT

Europe at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE HERITAGE FROM THE RENAISSANCE

I. Definition

II. Contributions by the Renaissance

The Renaissance was the period of European history extending roughly from 1250 to 1600 in which classical culture was revived and new ideals arose of learning, art and life. This period was brought about by a movement which started in Italy and then spread north of the Alps to the rest of Europe. It was an important movement for modern history because it made several significant contributions to the development of European civilization. Consequently it is necessary to review these contributions briefly in order to understand many of the features of life in modern times.

A. New ideals of learning

1. Ideals of the Middle Ages

2. Ideals of the Renaissance

The first great contribution of the Renaissance was a new ideal of learning. During the Middle Ages the ideal had been that learning consisted in a knowledge of such subjects as logic, dialectical philosophy and theology. This ideal was known as scholasticism, and the men who held it were called scholastics. In the period of the Renaissance a new ideal arose. There was a revolt against the universities in which scholasticism ruled, because many felt that the scholastic type of learning was too dry and too far removed from real life. They believed that there were other subjects more worthy of study. When the universities refused to include these subjects in the curriculum many men turned aside and pursued the study of these subjects for themselves. The subjects which they studied were mainly the classical Latin and Greek languages, the literature written by the ancient Greeks and Romans in these languages, and the philosophy of the classical writers. Thus the Renaissance began with a revival of classical learning, and since the men of the Renaissance claimed that such learning was the only kind worthy of man's attention the period has often been called the Revival of Learning. Strictly speaking, however, it was not the revival of learning in general, but only of a particular kind of learning — the kind which the Renaissance said was ideal.

3. Leaders
a. Petrarch (1304–1374)

The first great leader in the establishment of this new ideal of learning was Petrarch. Petrarch, a citizen of the city of Florence, lived in the fourteenth century. He greatly admired the classical writers and studied their works assiduously. By incessant effort he developed a beautiful Latin style modeled on that of the great Roman orator Cicero. The works of many of the classical writers were already known to the men of the Middle Ages, but Petrarch was the first to assert that they should be the main subject of study. He was the first to show their real beauty, and he it was who began the movement to correct the texts of the manuscripts. A large part of his life was spent in a laborious search for manuscripts of Greek and Roman books, which he found hidden away in monasteries, private libraries and other remote places. Many of the manuscripts were in bad condition. They were torn, full of errors made by the copyists, and injured in other ways. Petrarch labored to correct the errors and to restore the wording of the manuscript to that first used by the author. One of his most important achievements was that he inspired others to follow his example. All over Italy his disciples searched for manuscripts, studied their contents and tried to purify them from errors. In addition to being a leader in this movement Petrarch was also a writer. He wrote sonnets in Italian, long poems in Latin, and inspiring letters to his followers. They honored him highly wherever he went and unanimously agreed in regarding him as the most learned man of his day. By the time he died the movement for the revival of classical learning was fairly begun.

b. Boccaccio (1313–1375)

The second great leader of the revival of learning was Boccaccio. He was one of the devoted disciples of Petrarch. The first of the abilities in which he excelled above the men of his time was in a knowledge of Greek, a language which even Petrarch had never been able to master. Not only did Boccaccio learn more about Greek than any of his countrymen, but he also stimulated its study by translating Greek books and bringing teachers of Greek to his native city of Florence.

Thus he placed at the disposal of others the means of acquiring a kind of knowledge which was very rare before his time. In addition to his services to the study of the Greek language he was noted for his work as a writer of prose. He it was who established a new form of literature, the prose short story. This was called the novel and out of it has developed the modern novel. His greatest work of this kind was the *Decameron,* a collection of short stories that are characteristic of the spirit of the revival of learning, in that they had a carefully devised plot, a gripping interest and, most important of all, they showed an intense desire to live this earthly life to the full. Boccaccio's characters were absorbed in seeking the joys of this life, good and bad. It became one of the most famous books in the literature of mankind, so famous, in fact, that it was imitated by Chaucer and many other writers.

c. Valla (d. 1457)

Petrarch and Boccaccio were followed by a host of scholars whose ideal of learning was to know Greek and Latin, to be acquainted with the classics, and to look at life as did the Greeks and Romans. Of these the most interesting to historians is Lorenzo Valla, for he may perhaps be considered the father of modern historical criticism. Not only did he acquire a polished Latin style that was the envy of his contemporaries, but he also investigated the authenticity of many important documents. His most famous work of this kind was the *Treatise on the Donation of Constantine.* The Donation of Constantine was a document in which the Roman emperor Constantine purported to give all of western Europe to the pope. Valla proved that it was a forgery. In accomplishing this feat he used both his knowledge of Latin grammar and of history. Since his time the same kind of knowledge and the same spirit of critical investigation have done much to render the work of historians more accurate.

B. New ideals of art

Secondly, the Renaissance contributed new ideals of art. Renaissance art was a combination of characteristics taken from the ancient art of the Greeks and Romans with new features added by the Renaissance. In architecture the round arch of the Romans was combined with a new development of the façade. The façade, that is the front of the building, was so constructed that it hid from view the roof and all the rest of the structure. A great advance was made in the solution of the problems of technique. For instance, much was done to solve the problem of perspective; that is, to represent distance upon a flat surface. One of the most important of the ideals of the Renaissance was individualism. Artists strove to be original, to give full reign to the imagination and to express themselves independently. Consequently there arose a large number of good artists, and from their work modern art has learned much.

C. New ideals of life

1. Ideals of the Middle Ages

The Renaissance contributed thirdly new ideals of life. The dominant ideals in the Middle Ages had been other-worldliness and submission to authority. Other-worldliness meant that men should live entirely in such a manner that in the next world their souls would be saved; and in order to do that they thought it was necessary to renounce as much of the pleasures of this life as possible. Submission to authority meant that men should not think for themselves but accept truth as it was handed down to them, mainly by the church.

2. Ideals of the Renaissance

The Renaissance ideals of life were quite different. In this period men came to believe that instead of other-worldliness the aim of man should be to live the physical life to the full, to taste all of the joy it could give, and to delight in all the beauty offered by nature. Instead of submission to authority the Renaissance held forth the ideal of self-expression. Every man should try to be original, to do things in his own individual way, and to think for himself. Still another ideal of life that arose in the Renaissance was to study the classics. A knowledge of these was considered the mark of a cultured man.

3. The humanists

The men who held these and the other ideals of the Renaissance were called humanists, partly because their interest centered in man himself, and partly because Latin and Greek, which they studied, were called the humanities. The movement which they carried on was called humanism — a movement which aimed to achieve all the ideals of the Renaissance. These ideals it handed down to subsequent centuries. For instance, until the beginning of the twentieth century Latin and Greek were considered the most important subjects in any curriculum, and Latin was almost uniformly required of students entering a university.

D. New attitude in science

1. Change in purpose

The fourth great contribution of the Renaissance was a new attitude in science. There was a change in the purpose of science. In the Middle Ages the purpose had been to discover some sort of magic by which man might become wealthy, or penetrate the secrets of the future, or do some other miraculous thing. For instance, one of the chief sciences of the Middle Ages was alchemy. The chief aim of alchemy was to discover what was called the philosopher's stone; that is, a stone which by its touch would turn the baser metals into gold or silver. Likewise in astrology, another science highly developed in the Middle Ages, the main purpose was to find the relation between the stars and man's destiny so as to predict the future events in a person's life. In the period of the Renaissance scientists developed a different purpose. This new aim was to discover the natural laws controlling the universe. For instance, alchemy was supplanted by a new science called chemistry, which tried to find the elements of which matter is composed and to determine the laws that govern their combinations. In the same way astrology was replaced by astronomy, a science that sought to study the stars in their relationships to each other rather than to man.

2. Change in method

Science also gained a change in method during the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages science had tried to increase the content of its knowledge by a process of argument. In the Renaissance there was developed what was known as the scientific method. This method was based upon experimentation rather than upon argument; that is, instead of accepting the knowledge handed down from the past and trying to reach more knowledge by reasoning from it, it started by trying to ascertain the facts. After a long period of experiment to find a body of facts the scientist then formulated a working hypothesis of the laws that governed their relation. Then he experimented further to see if his hypothesis was correct. In case it proved to be wrong he made a new hypothesis, and continued working in this way until finally he arrived at one so nearly correct that he could call it a law.

3. Three revolutionary inventions
a. Gunpowder

One of the most important features of the new era of science was the development of three revolutionary inventions. The first of these was gunpowder. Gunpowder was discovered probably by the Chinese, and was first used as a propelling force by the Moors. Cannon were employed in Europe in the fourteenth century, but were not common until the sixteenth. Not until the seventeenth did firearms become really practicable and not until the opening of the eighteenth did they render full armor a useless burden. By that time gunpowder with its related inventions of cannon and firearms had brought about several important social changes. It went far to remove the inequality between the knight and the footman by tending to equalize their fighting ability. This promoted social equality, because the differences in rank were founded largely upon differences in fighting ability. It also gave Europeans a great advantage over the rest of the world, so that they were able either to conquer or to dominate most of the rest of mankind. Also, it helped the rise of absolute monarchy in later times, because firearms and artillery were an expensive form of equipment and required good training for their effective use. A king by maintaining a well-trained standing army supplied with firearms and artillery could easily defeat any revolutionary force before it could obtain the necessary equipment or training to overthrow him.

b. Compass

Another important invention was the compass. As early as the twelfth century it was known that a magnetic needle would turn toward the north, but not until the fourteenth century was this knowledge applied to a practical use by placing the needle on a pivot over a card marked with the points of the compass. This was accompanied by kindred inventions, such as the astrolabe — an instrument for ascertaining the position of the heavenly bodies — all of which put together enabled sailors to sail in any direction they wished without sight of land, sun or stars to guide them. In addition it helped map-makers to improve greatly the accuracy of their work, and so stimulated the conquest of the sea.

c. Printing

The third revolutionary invention was printing. This, like the others, was really a group of inventions such as paper, printer's ink, the printing press, and, most important of all, movable type. The invention of movable type was attributed to John Gutenberg of Mainz and probably took place just before the middle of the fifteenth century. Printing brought about extensive social changes. It made possible the spread of knowledge widely, cheaply and rapidly. When in time it became possible for large numbers of men to have an education, it also became possible for every one to think for himself. This stimulated a spirit of revolution. When the authorities found that the spirit of revolution was being spread by printed books they tried to stop it by establishing a censorship of the press. However, their attempts were never completely successful, and ever since then censorship has been one of the great problems of society.

E. New era of discovery

The sixth contribution of the Renaissance that laid the causes for much of modern European history was a new era of discovery. In the Middle Ages men knew that there was a world outside of Europe but they knew little about it. In the Renaissance explorers sallied forth to discover where it was and what it was like. One stimulus to this new spirit of discovery was the reports brought back by Italian travelers in Asia such as Marco Polo, because the reports of what they had seen made other men wish to see the rest of the world. Another stimulus was the lucrative trade with the East, which was almost monopolized by the Italians. The other peoples of Europe wanted to gain a share in this trade, and tried to discover new routes to that part of the world.

1. Stimulus

2. Prince Henry the Navigator

The first great explorer outside of the Italian peninsula was Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal. He became interested in exploration when he led an expedition against Ceuta, a stronghold of Mohammedan pirates in Africa across from Portugal. On this expedition he discovered that back of Ceuta lay a rich country. Then he conceived the idea of attacking the Mohammedan world from the rear. Being the fifth son of the king, and a bachelor, and thus endowed with both power and leisure he occupied himself with organizing expeditions which year after year sailed down the coast of Africa. Before he died the captains he employed reached Cape

1415

Verde on the coast of Africa, and rediscovered the islands of the Canaries, the Madeiras and the Azores. Thus Prince Henry more than any other man was responsible for starting the age of Atlantic exploration. After his death the Portuguese explorers carried their discoveries still further. They rounded the Cape of Good Hope and finally Vasco da Gama sailed as far as India. That established a new trade route with the East, and the Portuguese began to take away much of this trade from the Italians. The greatest of all the discoverers was Columbus. In an attempt to reach India by sailing around the world to the west he discovered the West Indies. This land he claimed for Spain. Thus he broke the Portuguese monopoly of exploration and after some negotiations Spain induced Portugal to agree to a division of the new world. Their agreement was called the Treaty of Tordesillas. By this treaty a line was drawn around the world from north to south three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Spain was given possession of all the new world west of it, while Portugal took all to the east.

3. Portuguese explorers

1498

4. Columbus

1492

1494

5. Results

The era of discovery had several important results upon European history. One result was the beginning of a movement of European expansion. Europeans not only discovered other parts of the world but also conquered them, colonized them, and Europeanized them. Another result was that the center of influence in Europe changed from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast. Europe, instead of facing east as it had done all through the Middle Ages, now changed its face westward.

III. Northern Renaissance

A. Distinctive characteristics

In order to understand the heritage passed on by the Renaissance to modern times it is necessary to survey briefly the progress of the northern Renaissance. North of the Alps the Renaissance had three distinctive characteristics. First, it started later and was not in full swing until the opening of the sixteenth century. A second characteristic was that in the north the universities were the centers of the movement, while in Italy the Renaissance was partly a revolt against the universities. Still a third difference was that the main interest of the northern humanists was in religion. The book they studied most was the Bible and the cause they advocated most was religious reform.

B. Leading humanists
1. Reuchlin (1455–1522)

The first great humanist in Germany was Reuchlin. He distinguished himself by urging people to study Hebrew and by writing a Hebrew grammar to help them do it. This enterprise brought upon him the wrath of a party which wanted to destroy all Jewish books out of hatred for the Jews. When Reuchlin refused to join them they brought him to trial for heresy. While the trial was dragging on Reuchlin tried to strengthen his case by taking letters of encouragement that his friends had written him and publishing them under the title 1514
Letters of Eminent Men. This suggested to one of his followers the idea of attacking Reuchlin's enemies in a satire 1515
called *Letters of Obscure Men.* It consisted of fictitious letters from Reuchlin's opponents to their leaders in which they used such bad Latin and told such disgraceful stories about themselves that they made themselves ridiculous. This satire aroused public opinion in Reuchlin's favor and finally he was freed from the charges against him.

2. Erasmus 1466–1536)

The greatest of the northern humanists was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. He was universally regarded as the most learned scholar and the most brilliant writer of his day. One reason for this was that he possessed a Latin style superior to that of any of his contemporaries. He had a host of admirers with whom he carried on a voluminous correspondence and who aspired to write as elegantly as he. Wherever he traveled he was received with the highest honors. From his gifted pen there flowed a series of works that were the best sellers of the time. One of the most famous of these 1511
was the *Praise of Folly.* In this volume the writer poses as a personification of Folly. He names various classes of people as his disciples and points out the foolish acts in their lives by which they are devotees of Folly. This ridicule of the foibles of the time made people laugh and also aroused a desire for reform. Another of the chief works of Erasmus had quite a different character. It was an edition of the New 1516
Testament in its original language of Greek. To the text he added notes of his own in which he showed that the correct

wording demanded changes in the interpretation of the book. This edition stimulated a movement to study the New Testament more carefully and correct many false interpretations.

3. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523)

Another leading humanist in the north was Ulrich von Hutten. This man was a German knight who was exceptionally gifted as a poet. In addition to writing poetry he also led in the movement to make Germany an independent nation. He was an ardent patriot. Since one of the chief foreign powers dominating Germany was the papacy, his patriotism inspired him to attack the pope. Thus he combined the spirit of the Renaissance with love for his country and a demand for religious reform.

These were the characteristics of the Renaissance and these were its contributions to history. It is because it played such an important part in the making of Europe that it has sometimes been defined as the transition from medieval to modern times.

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

Selected Readings

1. **The Renaissance in Italy and the North,** W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* I, 43–57.
2. **The Humanists,** P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation,* 47–61.
3. **Selections from Petrarch,** J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* I, 524–528.
4. **Selections from Petrarch,** F. A. Ogg, *A Source Book of Medieval History,* 462–473.
5. **The Fine Arts in Italy,** L. Thorndike, *History of Medieval Europe,* rev. ed., 597–608.
6. **Raphael,** O. P. Fairfield, *The Italian Renaissance in Art,* 285–315.
7. **Selections on Cellini, da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo,** J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* I, 532–541.
8. **The Revival of Science,** E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation,* 124–143.
9. **The Beginnings of European Expansion,** W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* I, 64–81.
10. **The Portuguese Explorations,** E. P. Cheyney, *The European Background of American History,* 60–78.
11. **The Commercial Revolution,** A. Hyma, *Europe from the Renaissance to 1815,* 69–79.
12. **Extracts from the *Letters of Obscure Men,*** J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* II, 47–50.

Famous Contemporary Books

G. Boccaccio, *The Decameron.*

D. Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly.*

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CHAPTER II

THE STATES OF EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I. Nationalism

The states of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century were being deeply influenced by a movement known as nationalism. In order to understand the movement it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the Christian era when there was only one state in Europe. This state was the Roman Empire. Along the Rhine and the Danube it maintained a frontier inside of which there was one law, one language and one government. During the next fifteen hundred years this one huge state broke up into many states. This disintegration began when the frontier was crossed by a horde of tribes who brought with them their own laws, languages and kings. Gradually they settled permanently in different areas and established separate groups. Some of the groups developed until each had its own boundaries within which the inhabitants were of the same race, spoke the same language, obeyed the same laws, remembered the same traditions and were subject to the same government. Such a group of people was called a nation-state. The movement of a people to form such a group and to emphasize the things that separated them from other peoples was called nationalism. At first the highest official in the nation-state was the king. By 1500 the prevailing theory of government was that the king should be the supreme and only power within the nation-state. To gain this end he was justified in being unscrupulous in the means he employed, ruthlessly cruel in subduing all opposition, and intolerant of any other authority.

II. Machiavellianism 1513

Such a theory was formulated in a book written by Machiavelli called *The Prince,* and thus it gained the name of Machiavellianism, though Machiavelli was far from being the only person responsible for it. He intended *The Prince* to be a textbook on political science. He chose only one form of government, a despotism, and described the way in which it should be conducted. In brief, he said that a despot should seek the welfare of the state, because if his state prospered, he in turn would become prosperous. This was a purely selfish motive. He should maintain a firm rule and should not hesitate to use violence, deception or any other means when necessary. Yet at the same time he should avoid unnecessary brutality. Whenever any ideal came into conflict with a practical consideration, he should favor the practical. For instance, a prince when he first came into power had to be cruel though he might prefer to be merciful. One of the most influential principles of his book was its reliance upon war. "A prince," he said, "ought to have no other purpose or thought, nor choose anything else for his study than war, its methods, and conduct." During the centuries since Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* many a statesman and many a state has been guided by his cold-blooded principles of government.

III. England A. Henry VII (1485–1509)

The spirit of nationalism was felt by all the peoples of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, but only three large groups had developed into mature nation-states. One of these was England. In 1500 the throne of England was held by Henry VII, a typical Machiavellian king; shrewd, vigorous, unscrupulous and grasping. Yet at the same time he was capable, and England prospered under his rule. He had gained the crown and founded the dynasty of Tudor in 1485 at the close of a generation of civil strife known as the Wars of the Roses. Consequently England was in a turbulent condition due to the wars and Henry's first endeavor was to establish law and order by taking away from the nobles the bands of soldiers they maintained, suppressing rebellions ruthlessly, and administering justice with an iron hand. So well did he succeed in this task that he was nicknamed the Big Policeman. At the same time he promoted commerce. One way in which he did this was by adopting a policy of peace, because peace kept England's resources from being wasted in war. Another method of aiding commerce was the negotiation of treaties giving England commercial privileges in other

B. Law and order

C. Commerce

countries. His personality was marked by a passion for hoarding treasure. He economized in his government and private life to such an extreme that he became very wealthy even for a king. One of his most important policies was to cultivate the friendship of other nations. He did this mainly by a series of marriage alliances. His daughter Margaret was married to James IV, King of Scotland, and his son Arthur to Catherine, daughter of the King of Aragon. When Arthur died less than a year later, his second son Henry was betrothed to Catherine. Another important feature of the reign of Henry VII was the growth of the Renaissance. During these years several Englishmen took their places among the leading humanists of Europe. One of them was Thomas Linacre, the court physician. He rendered his country a great service by stimulating the study of medicine and Greek. Another prominent humanist was John Colet, a professor at Oxford. Colet was noted for his simple and accurate methods of interpreting the Bible. In addition he was so powerful a preacher that he was chosen dean of St. Paul's cathedral in London. There he made such important changes in the methods of teaching used in St. Paul's school that he became one of the founders of modern education. Thus he was a leader in three respects; the interpretation of the Bible, preaching and teaching. Still a third humanist of note was Sir Thomas More, whose career will be discussed in a later chapter. In addition to the leadership of these men the Renaissance in England was assisted at times by Erasmus, when he visited England and taught at both Oxford and Cambridge.

D. Marriage alliances 1501

1502

E. Renaissance

IV. Spain

A. Conquest of the Moors

Spain was one of the countries that had developed into a nation-state by 1500. During the Moorish conquest in the eighth century the Christians had been driven back into the mountains of the north, where they defied the Moors for centuries and founded small kingdoms such as Aragon, Castile and Navarre. In the thirteenth century these kingdoms began to push back the Moors. Stronghold after stronghold was taken until finally all that was left to the Moors was the fortress of Granada in the south. Then the Christian kingdoms fought and struggled with each other for supremacy. In the fifteenth century most of the peninsula except Portugal was united into the kingdom of Spain by a series of important events beginning with the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile. The two sovereigns coöperated in reducing the feudal nobles and towns to a state of submission. In 1492 the fortress of Granada was taken after a long struggle, and in the next century the Moors were driven out of the peninsula entirely. The crusading orders of monks founded in the Middle Ages were brought under control by the election of Ferdinand as grand master of all three of them. The church was thoroughly reformed under the leadership of Cardinal Ximenes. The morals, learning and zeal of the clergy were improved, and thus Spain became the champion of reform within the church. Isabella revived the Inquisition, a special court of the church for the detection and trial of heretics, and the pope gave its management to the crown. Henceforth this section of the Inquisition was known as the Spanish Inquisition. In the success with which it subdued all opposition and in the ferocity of its methods it was unsurpassed. It led in expelling the Moors and Jews and confiscating their property, and in removing all opposition to the Roman Catholic religion. Another achievement of Ferdinand was the acquisition of more territory for Spain. By a skillful foreign policy he gained final possession of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and of part of Navarre and Rousillon. In 1492 Columbus discovered the new world and thus the Portuguese monopoly of the south Atlantic trade was broken. After this Spain acquired a vast colonial empire from which she drew a large supply of precious metals. She gained even more real power, however, when Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, married Philip, the son of Emperor Maximilian. Philip died early in life and Joanna soon followed him. They left a son named Charles, who, on the death of his grandfathers, Ferdinand and Maximilian, inherited Austria, the Netherlands, all of the Spanish peninsula except Portugal, and half of Italy.

B. Ferdinand and Isabella

1469

1492

1481

C. Expansion

D. Charles

France was another great nation-state in 1500. In the middle of the preceding century the country had been left in a

V. France

state of terrible distress by the Hundred Years' War with England. In order to suppress lawlessness a royal standing army was organized. Its control was given to the king and with it was given the right to collect a special tax to pay the costs of its maintenance. This tax was called the *taille*. In later years it became the largest and most exorbitant of all the royal taxes. With the standing army to help him, Louis XI built up the power of the king in a typically Machiavellian manner. He was one of the most crafty kings that has ever lived. By means of treacherous diplomacy and ferocious brutality he destroyed the power of all the nobles who dared to oppose him and increased the lands held by the crown. As a restraint upon the nobility he patronized the middle class, called the bourgeoisie, and at the same time encouraged commerce and industry. To increase royal control he employed lawyers trained in the Roman law, because that kind of law favored a strong monarchy. He also organized a system of courts called parlements, and made them subservient to his will. Over this system the parlement of Paris was supreme. When he died he bequeathed to his son Charles VIII a powerful nation, highly centralized and prosperous. Charles reasserted an old claim of the French kings to Naples and invaded Italy to make it good. At first he was as successful as his heart could wish. The states of Italy were so divided by jealousy that one after another was forced to open its gates to him, and he reached Naples without a battle. But once there he found it impossible to maintain himself. His army was ruined by dissipation and disease. The Italian states formed an alliance against him, and Charles was forced to beat a hasty retreat just in time to escape complete destruction. Nevertheless his expedition had important consequences, for it showed Europe the spoils that were to be gained in Italy, and it inaugurated a long series of wars to acquire them. In addition it brought back across the Alps the influence of the Renaissance, and stimulated a new era in French culture.

A. Standing army 1439

B. Louis XI (1461–1483)

C. Charles VIII (1483–1498)

1494

VI. Italy

Italy was moved by the spirit of nationalism in the sixteenth century, but lacked the political unity necessary to become a nation-state. The government of the peninsula was divided

A. Divisions

between a large number of states, of which the most important were the city-states in the north, the Papal States in the center, and the joint kingdom of Naples and Sicily in the south. The city-states were cities which had thrown off the yoke of the emperor and acquired control over a large area of surrounding territory. They were called city-states because they still retained the government of a city after their possessions had extended far beyond the city walls. Of these one of the most important was Venice. Venice was located on a group of islands north of the mouth of the Po in the Adriatic Sea close to the coast of Italy. During the Middle Ages it built up a wealthy commerce and acquired large possessions on the mainland. It was governed by an oligarchy; that is, the rule of a few aristocrats. Another wealthy and powerful city was Milan, just north of the central Po. Milan was ruled by a despot. A despot at that time was ordinarily a member of the class of professional military leaders called *condottieri*. He would hire himself and his troops to a city in one of the frequent wars of the period, and sometimes usurp control of the government. This was done by Francis Sforza, one of the most famous despots of Milan. He ruled according to the principles of Machiavelli. Often he was brutal and merciless, but the people submitted to his control because he also gave the city protection, patronized the arts, and kept the good will of the commercial classes. Florence, a city-state west of the Apennines in northern Italy, was a republic in form, but in practice was controlled by the family of Medici. The Medici were willing to let the city go through the motions of self-government as long as they themselves retained the real power. This they did by manipulating the republican forms of the city so as to dominate its political life. In brief, they were expert political bosses. In the fifteenth century Florence was celebrated for its bankers, its artists and its writers. Few cities were as rich and none was more cultured. Some of the Florentines were among the greatest artists, thinkers and writers of the Renaissance. In the Papal States the pope was absolute ruler. His chief difficulty was to keep his territories in complete submission. Much of his power came from the wealth

B. City-states

1. Venice

2. Milan

1450

3. Florence

C. Papal States

that the whole Roman Catholic Church contributed to his treasury and from the importance of the city of Rome in European affairs. The Renaissance papacy was on the whole corrupt. The popes were worldly men, fond of luxury, more interested in culture than religion, more devoted to political power than to the church, and often grossly immoral. Such a
1493–1503 man was Alexander VI, who tried to give away the Papal States to his son Caesare Borgia. He was a notorious murderer and presumably died of poison which he probably intended for
1503–1513 one of his guests. Julius II who followed him was a man of the sword. Soon after he became pope, Louis XII, who fol-
1498–1515 lowed Charles VIII as King of France, renewed the invasion of Italy. He made an agreement with Ferdinand of Aragon by which Louis acquired Milan and Ferdinand was given Naples. Julius saw in the new power of France an ally to help
1508 him humble the proud city of Venice. He made a league with France and Spain and was successful in conquering the city. Then he treacherously plotted to drive the French back across
1511 the Alps and dominate Italy himself. He formed an alliance with Venice and Spain and quickly expelled France from Italy. Thus by unscrupulous diplomacy he exalted the power of the papacy, but the expulsion of France proved to be only an episode in a long struggle for dominance in Italy that was soon
1513–1521 renewed. Julius II was followed by Leo X of the House of Medici. Leo was not so warlike as his predecessor, but he was equally worldly, and grossly extravagant. Worst of all he was indifferent to the fact that while Rome was extorting floods of gold from the rest of Europe a religious change was taking place north of the Alps that was to shake the church to its foundations. This change was called the Reformation.

VII. Holy Roman Empire
A. Geography

Another of the great powers of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century was the Empire. During the Middle Ages the Roman Empire had shrunk until in 1500 it was composed only of the territory roughly corresponding to the present states of Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, northwestern Italy and Switzerland. Technically Switzerland and northwestern Italy were included in its boundaries, but actually they were autonomous. The term " Holy " was added to the name " Roman Empire " in the twelfth century. After that it was called the Holy Roman Empire. Within its boundaries was a conglomeration of more than three hundred practically autonomous states varying greatly in size and name. The emperor was elected by seven of the most powerful princes. These were the archbishops of Trèves, Mainz and Cologne, the Count of the Rhenish Palatinate, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Ernestine Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. For centuries they had always chosen the emperor from the House of Hapsburg, which was the ruling house in the archduchy of Austria. Thus the Hapsburgs had come to look upon the office as their hereditary right. The man who was elected emperor had almost no power as emperor, but as Archduke of Austria he was a mighty prince. Moreover, if he happened to be a man of forceful personality he might compel a considerable degree of obedience. In the last part of the fifteenth century the emperor was Frederick III, a weak man, more interested in religion and study than politics. His son Maximilian I was quite different. He was a youth of high ambitions. Above all he wanted to increase the possessions of the Hapsburgs. By marrying Mary of Burgundy he acquired the Netherlands. Then his son Philip married Joanna of Aragon. As seen above, their son Charles inherited vast possessions, with the result that the House of Hapsburg became the most powerful in Europe.

B. Emperor

The emperor shared the government with an imperial assembly called the diet or *Reichstag*. This assembly was composed of three houses; the electors, the princes and the free cities. The princes were all those rulers who recognized no higher authority than the Empire, and many of them were knights who possessed no more than a castle and a few acres of land. The free cities were towns that were relieved by the emperor of obedience to any other ruler but himself. Some of the most important were Augsburg, Nuremberg and Strasbourg. Many of them had acquired great wealth through industry and commerce. They were centers of culture, and alive with a spirit of nationalism for a German nation-state.

C. Diet

At the opening of the sixteenth century there was a growing desire in Germany to transform the Empire into a strong nation-state. Maximilian put himself at the head of this

D. New nationalistic institutions

patriotic movement and called a diet at Worms. This diet 1495 established three new institutions. The first was a law called the Land-peace, which abolished private warfare between the states. The second was an imperial court in which disputes could be settled so that the states of the Empire would not have to go to war with each other. The third was an imperial council to assist the emperor in the administration of the government. All of these were institutions that corresponded to institutions existing in France, England and Spain. They were necessary to a strong nation-state. But it was impossible for Germany to achieve in a few years what those countries had gained by centuries of development. Besides, there were too many obstacles in the way. For instance, the diet had no treasury or army to enforce its decrees. The princes were too jealous and suspicious to put aside their strife. The emperors were more interested in increasing the possessions of their house than the power of the government. Most important of all, a strong body of public opinion had not been created to give the new institutions power. Besides, a demand was growing for the reformation of the church, and the dispute over this question added a new cause for strife to the many which already prevented the Empire from becoming a nation. On the other hand there were forces which made for nationalism and which were destined ultimately to change Germany into a nation-state. One of these was the fact that the people spoke one language even though the dialects of it varied considerably. Another was the influence of one diet and one emperor. This tended to bind them together even though these institutions were weak. Still a third was the fact that the Empire had definite geographical limits, even though these limits were not entirely satisfactory. These forces were not strong enough to overcome the divisive influences at work in the sixteenth century, but they played an important part in the progress of a new movement in that century called the Reformation.

E. Obstacles to nationalism

F. Aids to nationalism

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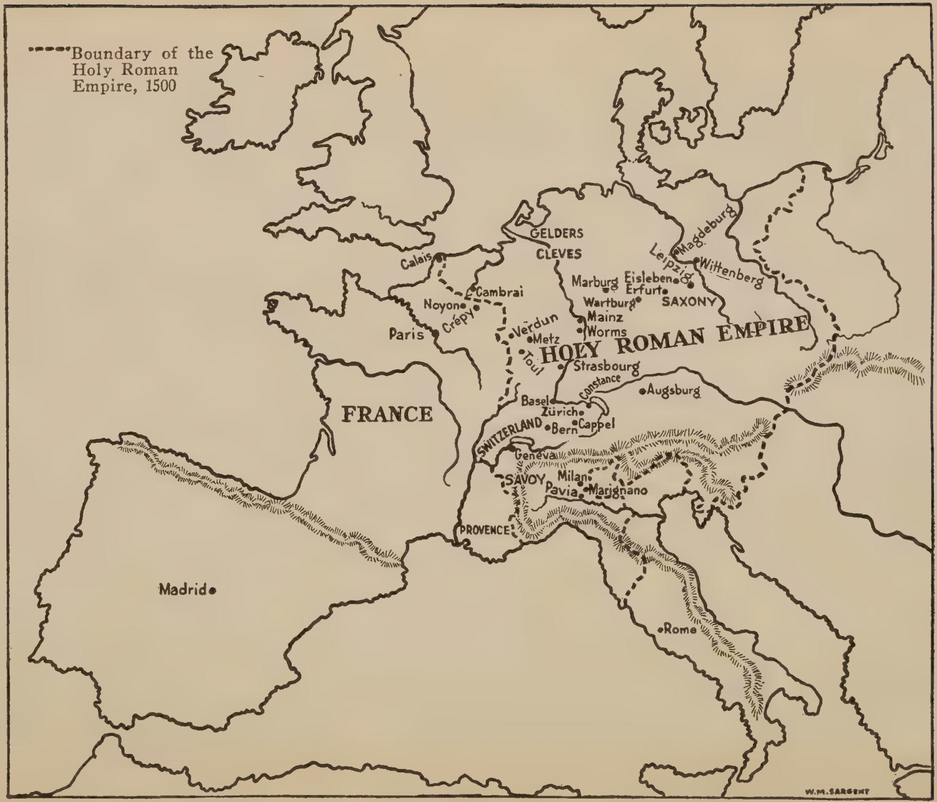
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire, 1500
GELDERS
CLEVES
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Wittenberg
Calais
Cambrai
Noyon
Crépy
Paris
Marburg
Eisleben
Erfurt
Wartburg
SAXONY
Mainz
Worms
Verdun
Metz
Toul
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Strasbourg
Constance
Augsburg
Basel
Zürich
Bern
Cappel
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Geneva
SAVOY
Milan
Pavia
Marignano
PROVENCE
Madrid
Rome
W.M.SARGENT

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

I. Causes of Reformation

A. Corruption in the church

Among the causes of the Reformation were four dominant ones, none of which can be properly understood apart from the others, since it was the combination of all of them which started the movement. First, there was the protest against corruption in the church, and of the corrupt practices one of the worst was extortionate taxation. Not only were the taxes huge in amount, but they were often gained by corrupt means, such as bribery and the sale of church offices. In addition to that, the money was often squandered in large quantities instead of being used for religious purposes. The immorality of the clergy was another evil, and this was true not only of sexual conduct but of other malpractices. One of these was pluralism, a practice by which the same man would hold a number of offices, collect the revenues, hire substitutes for a small sum, and never personally perform the duties for which he was paid. Still another abuse was the teaching of doctrines which many came to believe were erroneous, such as the supremacy of the pope and the worship of saints. However, none of these evils were new in 1500, and many of them had existed for a long time, so that taken by themselves they were not sufficient to arouse a powerful demand for reform.

B. Religious enthusiasm

The second cause for the Reformation was an outburst of dissatisfied religious enthusiasm. There was a passion for collecting religious relics. Shrines were thronged by pilgrims seeking forgiveness. Preachers showed a new moral earnestness and congregations filled the churches to hear them. The Bible was published in many editions and religious tracts were sold in large quantities. Immorality and superstition were condemned more vigorously than before and religious societies were formed by laymen for charitable purposes. It was partly because people were so interested in religion that they awakened to the evils in the church. They were so anxious to find God that they turned eagerly to the habitual forms of religious expression, and it was because they found these forms unsatisfactory that they welcomed new forms when leaders arose who told them of better ways to find God.

C. Nationalism

The third cause for the Reformation was nationalism. Many of the evils in the church were attributed to the pope. He was regarded as a foreign potentate and his taxes were condemned as an infringement of national freedom. The people who condemned him for religious reasons easily gained the support of those who condemned him for patriotic reasons. Their desire for national independence made them ready to renounce not only the papacy but many other features of the Roman Catholic church.

D. Humanism

Finally, humanism did much to stimulate the Reformation. It encouraged a spirit of inquiry, of criticism, and of individualism that rebelled against the authority of the church. Many of the humanists studied the Bible for themselves, and when they found it did not support certain doctrines of the church they discarded these doctrines as false.

Thus there grew up a feeling that many things in the church were wrong and needed to be changed or reformed. But nowhere was there any idea of getting out of the church. Such an idea was as unknown as an undiscovered continent. It remained for the events of the Reformation to force men to the realization that there could be not only *the* church but also *a* church.

II. Early Life of Luther

A. Childhood

On November 10, 1483, there was born in the little village of Eisleben, in Germany, a boy named Martin Luther. His father was a miner who worked hard to provide a living for his family and resolved that his son Martin should have an easier and more profitable life. The best way to accomplish that, it seemed to him, was to educate the boy to be a lawyer, because law was the profession which paid the best. So he sent him to the village school in Mansfeld, then to the charity schools in Magdeburg and Eisenach, and finally to the university in Erfurt. Martin had to do his share toward paying the expenses of his education, and even at times begged upon

B. Education

the streets. He studied hard, made a good record, and at the same time was popular with his fellow students. In 1505 he attained the degree of Master of Arts, and only the course in law remained to be passed before he would achieve the goal set before him.

C. Religious experience

Then there came a tremendous change in his life. He passed through a transforming religious experience. Since this experience was typical of the lives of hundreds of people, it is well to study it in detail. Just exactly what happened is not clear, but at least the following facts are known. After receiving his degree he went home for the vacation. As he was walking back across the mountains he was caught in a violent storm. The thunder crashed all around him, the lightning flashed back and forth across the sky and Luther was terribly frightened. In his fear lest the next bolt of lightning might kill him he cried out, "Good St. Anne, save me, and I vow that I will become a monk." The storm passed, he remained unharmed, and when he arrived at Erfurt he kept his word. Gathering his friends around him, he said goodbye and entered the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits. July, 1505

1. Monk

From the day that he became a monk there was one big question constantly in Luther's mind, "How can I be sure that God has pardoned me?" The answer given by the Middle Ages to that question was "By doing good works," and of these one of the best was entering a monastery. Certainly if anybody showed God he sincerely wanted salvation it was a monk, because by his vows he sacrificed some of the most precious things in earthly life: property, family, and independence. But for Luther that was not enough. He still felt that he was a sinful man. He still doubted whether he had done enough to gain mercy. To make sure of his salvation he went to the extreme in using all the methods advocated by the medieval church as the best way to gain salvation. He flogged himself to humiliate his body, he fasted in order to deny the appetites of the flesh, he scrubbed the floors and did the most menial tasks in order to subdue all traces of pride, and yet he found himself unable to keep from sinning. The other monks regarded him as a saint, but his soul was terribly distressed because he fell asleep while he was saying his prayers. Certainly any man who sincerely wanted God's pardon would not be so disrespectful as that! He had vain and idle thoughts. Strive as he might he was unable to convince himself that God had pardoned him. He had tried all the approved methods and they had failed.

2. Professor

It was only gradually after a long series of experiences extending over many years that Luther found the answer to the question, "How can I be sure that God has pardoned me?" The first ray of light came when he read the works of Augustine emphasizing the need of faith. Further relief was gained by activities which turned his attention from himself and busied him with the solution of others' problems. He was made an instructor at the new University of Wittenberg, 1508 established by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. He was sent to Rome on business for his order. 1510 As he taught others he learned much himself, and this was especially true when he began to lecture on the book of Romans. His attention was attracted by this verse, "The just shall live by faith." As he pondered over this text in connection with the rest of the epistle, he reached the final answer to his question, and to this answer he gave the name justification by faith alone.

Justification by faith alone meant simply that God saves the sinner because he wants to be good to him. God does not have to be paid for salvation, or forced into pardoning man, but he does it of his own good-will. This is justification. But justification is not a reality to the sinner until he awakens to the fact that God loves him and believes that he is pardoned. Consequently it is this belief, or faith, that makes justification real to him and in this sense he may be said to be justified by faith alone. Good works cannot save a man; only God can do that and all that the sinner can do is to trust God. How was Luther sure that God had pardoned him? Because God promised to pardon him and God was all-powerful.

D. Indulgence Controversy

1. Indulgences

Luther was first called upon to apply his discovery to a particular case by the practice of indulgences. The church taught that there were four parts in the sacrament of penance; contrition, confession, absolution and satisfaction. Satisfaction was the punishment removing the guilt of sin and had to be fully performed on earth or completed in purgatory before entrance to heaven could be gained. There was also a belief that some people had done more than enough to secure their admission to heaven, and that their extra good works were stored in a treasury of merits. During the Middle Ages it became customary for the pope to draw upon this treasury of merits and apply a portion of them to other people, in order that they might perform their penance more quickly. This grant was called an indulgence. By 1500 an indulgence was usually bestowed in a certificate sold to gain money for some pious cause, such as a crusade, or the building of a church.

2. Tetzel

At about the same time that Luther discovered the answer to his question, the pope granted to Archbishop Albert of Mainz an agency for indulgences, and Albert employed an unscrupulous salesman named Tetzel. Tetzel grossly exaggerated the benefits conferred by indulgences, and, when he was not allowed to enter Saxony, set up his stand on the border not far from Wittenberg. There the people went in large numbers to buy pardon for their sins at a reduced rate. When Luther saw what was going on, his sympathy was aroused for these people who wanted to gain forgiveness for their sins just as he had wanted it. He knew that they could never purchase it in an indulgence, because that was just another form of good works, which he had found worthless. He did not want to be rebellious, but his indignation was aroused by a practice which he believed was deceiving them.

3. Ninety-five theses

In order to save his fellow men from a delusion, and to share with them the comfort that he found in justification by faith, Luther wrote ninety-five theses for debate on the subject of indulgences, printed them, sent them to prominent men, and on October 31, 1517, nailed them to the university bulletin board, the door of the castle church. The result surprised Luther as much as anybody else. He expected only an academic discussion: instead all Germany was aroused. The sale of indulgences was ruined. This was caused not so much by what Luther said in the theses as by long-accumulated resentment against the practice. This practice of indulgences was a particularly offensive feature of the way in which the foreign potentate at Rome squeezed money out of the Germans. Now one man dared to attack the abuse and thousands rallied around him.

4. Cajetan

Of course the archbishop and the pope could not ignore an event that stopped so much of their income. Luther must be silenced and forced to retract his statements. So the pope summoned him to appear before the papal legate, Cajetan, at Augsburg. The elector secured a safe-conduct for him and he went. Cajetan was one of the most learned theologians in Europe. He haughtily explained to Luther his errors and ordered him to admit his mistakes. But Luther had passed through a religious experience that meant more to him than any amount of learning. His conscience told him that he was right, and he refused to submit. He appealed from the pope badly-informed to the pope to-be-better-informed, and then from the pope to a council. He had not intended to announce any new doctrines or to rebel against the pope, but when he was forced to do it, he preferred to do that rather than desert the one hope of salvation which he had discovered.

Oct., 1518

5. Miltitz

When the pope saw that Luther was not to be subdued by force, he tried diplomacy. He sent to Frederick the Wise an envoy named Miltitz who took with him a valuable present and a smooth tongue. By gentle language he persuaded Luther to agree to keep silent on indulgences so long as his enemies did the same, and this so far as the sale was concerned was all that the pope wanted.

6. The Leipzig Debate

However, the silence did not endure long. A prominent theologian named John Eck attacked the ninety-five theses, and Luther not only answered him, but even asserted that the Roman church was not superior to other churches. The result was a debate between them at Leipzig in June and July, 1519. Although the debate lasted many days, the point on which it was decided was very simple. Eck forced Luther to admit that many of his views were the same as those held by John Huss. Huss had been condemned by the Council of Constance. Consequently Luther was forced into a dilemma where he was compelled either to renounce the views in question or declare that a council could err. The religious experience through which he had passed made it impossible for him to surrender his beliefs, because his salvation depended upon them. On the other hand the fact that they were condemned by a council was sufficient proof in Eck's judgment that they were wrong, and he claimed the victory in the debate. But it was only a technical victory. On the real questions of indulgences and other abuses Luther and others were still unconvinced. In one sense it was a victory for Luther — a victory over lack of decision. Now he saw that an appeal to a council was no longer possible — that he must make a complete break with the past, and appeal to a higher power.

E. Luther's pamphlets

1. Publication

The higher power to which Luther appealed was public opinion, and he made the appeal through a long series of publications, of which three pamphlets issued in 1520 were especially famous. These three pamphlets were an *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation,* a treatise on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* and a tract *On Christian Liberty.*

2. Beliefs

a. Justification by faith alone

He advanced a series of beliefs that became the chief principles of the Reformation. Of these the fundamental doctrine was the contention that good works were useless to gain salvation, that it was the kindness of God which made him forgive man, and all the sinner could do was to trust him. This was justification by faith alone, and out of this

b. Universal priesthood

belief developed a second, that a priesthood to act as agents for God's forgiveness was unnecessary. Each man could go directly to God for pardon; that is, be his own priest. This doctrine was called the universal priesthood.

c. Two sacraments

Luther also rejected the seven sacraments, and declared that there were only two; baptism and the Lord's Supper, with the possible addition of penance.

d. Cup for the laity

In the Lord's Supper the laity should be given the cup, and not only the bread, as before.

e. Clerical marriage

He condemned the immorality of the clergy and suggested that clergymen be allowed to marry, since that would help to remedy the situation and there was no valid law against it.

f. Sole authority of Scriptures

Another medieval doctrine which he discarded was the exclusive right of the church to determine what was right and wrong in religion. He contended that the Bible was the sole source of authority,

g. Reform of papacy

h. Abolition of false practices

i. Christian activities

and that the individual had the ability, and should be given the right, to interpret it for himself so far as was essential for salvation. In addition Luther denied that the pope had the exclusive right to call a council and to dominate the government of the church. He demanded that the papacy should be abolished or reformed, and called upon the Christian magistrates to uphold true religion. Finally, there was a long list of religious practices which he said should be abolished; private masses, the worship of saints, pilgrimages, and begging. In place of these he advocated, as activities most worthy of a Christian, Bible-reading and an industrious application to the daily duties of life.

3. Significance

These beliefs went much further than a mere demand for the reform of abuses such as the sale of indulgences to exact money from the people. They meant a fundamental change in the teaching and organization of the church as well. When Luther first formulated his doctrine of justification by faith, when he attacked indulgences, he did not expect any such change. But the succeeding events forced him to follow his beliefs to their logical conclusions with these results.

F. Excommunication

1. Papal bull condemning Luther, June 15, 1520

Sept., 1520

2. Luther burns bull, Dec. 10, 1520

3. Excommunication, May 6, 1521

Eck was not satisfied with the technical victory which he had won at Leipzig. In March of the following year he went to Rome and urged upon the pope the speedy condemnation of Luther. The consequence was that Leo X issued a bull in which he declared Luther to be a heretic. But public opinion in the Empire was so strongly in favor of Luther that Eck did not publish it until several months later. Luther was not frightened. By this time he was fully convinced that he had a message for humanity, and he was ready to vindicate its truth at any cost. He gathered the students of the University of Wittenberg around him and burned not only the bull but also a copy of the canon law. This was defiance that could not be tolerated, and the pope excommunicated him. That meant two dangers for Luther. One was the danger of hell, but his belief in justification by faith gave him ample assurance against that. The other was the danger of prosecution and death at the stake. Against that he was protected by his prince, the Elector of Saxony, who believed in the justice of his cause. Thus the practical independence of the states of the Empire worked in Luther's favor.

III. Charles V (1519–1556)

A. Election, 1519

Just when the excitement over Luther's attack on indulgences was at its height Emperor Maximilian I died and the question at once arose as to who should be elected his successor. There were four candidates; Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, Frederick of Saxony and Charles I of Spain, the grandson of Maximilian. Charles gained the election, partly by an unscrupulous mixture of bribery and intimidation, and partly because he was the Hapsburg heir. Thus at nineteen years of age he became the ruler of the Empire, Spain, half of Italy, the Netherlands and extensive colonies — the largest conglomeration of territories under the jurisdiction of one man since Charlemagne. But with his enormous realms were combined problems even greater. One problem was to hold them together in any kind of unity. Another was the antagonism of France, the pope, the Turks, the Italian princes and others who were anxious to take portions of his dominions for themselves. Besides, in the Netherlands there was a strong movement on the part of the towns to gain self-government. Most serious of all was the problem in the Empire where, with the princes practically independent, the Reformation made it necessary to do something about Luther and the evils in the church. Though Charles was a young ruler to face such great tasks, he was also gifted with remarkable abilities. He was an astute diplomat, who never scrupled at deception and usually had more than one scheme in hand, so that if one failed another might succeed. There were two supreme convictions that guided his conduct. One was a devotion to the church. He rejected any fundamental change in its doctrine and organization at the same time that he urged a reform like that accomplished in Spain. The other was an ambition to increase the power of his dynasty. In general his policy was to make peace with most of his enemies by false promises, then attack the others, and, after defeating them, to turn upon those who had been induced to remain quiet.

B. Problems

C. Personality

D. Policy

In accordance with this policy he began his reign in the

IV. Diet of Worms, 1521

Empire by calling a diet at Worms in 1521, where he might persuade the princes to suspend action while he attacked his enemies in Italy. One of the main questions before the diet was Luther and the Reformation. The papal legate, Aleander, demanded that Luther should be condemned without a hearing, because even giving him a hearing would question the authority of the church to decide on what was true and false in religion. But those who objected to the evils in the church saw in Luther a champion that they must defend, and they demanded that he should be tried. The emperor had two good reasons for deciding to give him a trial. One was that public opinion was so strongly in his favor that only a public condemnation would make it possible to subdue his followers. The other was that he could use Luther's condemnation as a bribe to gain the pope's support in Italy. Consequently Luther was summoned to appear before the diet and given a safe-conduct.

A. Luther's summons

B. Luther's hearing

Neither Luther nor anybody else failed to remember that Huss also had been given a safe-conduct when summoned to the Council of Constance, and yet he had perished at the stake. Consequently it took no little courage on the part of the Saxon monk to appear at Worms. There was one supreme reason that induced him to go. A hearing before the diet offered him an unequalled opportunity to present his cause before the most influential men of the Empire. There he could demand reform, and there he could show that his belief was so sure that he was willing to risk his life to prove its truth. For these reasons he went to Worms and appeared before the diet. He was shown some books and asked if they were his. When he admitted that they were, he was ordered to recant everything in them. In a low voice he asked for time to consider his answer and was given until the next day. When he reappeared he made a long speech concluding with these words, "Unless I am convinced by Scripture or right reason, I neither can nor will recant anything, since it is neither safe nor right to act against conscience." In these words was expressed one of the chief issues of the Reformation — the right of the individual to determine what was right in ac-

April 17, 1521

cordance with his conscience, reason, and the Bible, even if contrary to the teaching of the church. After the hearing, strenuous efforts were made to induce Luther to alter his stand, and even bribes were offered him, but he refused to yield.

C. Edict of Worms, May 26, 1521

After he had left, his enemies forced through the diet the Edict of Worms, drafted by Aleander. It declared Luther an outlaw, forbade anybody to shelter him, or to possess his books, and ordered him delivered to the government. The edict was not enforced, because just then the emperor renewed the war in Italy. This distracted his attention and forced him to conciliate the people of the Empire who supported Luther. While the edict placed upon Luther a legal condemnation, it really helped him, for it made him a hero at the same time that it failed to accomplish its purpose.

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

Selected Readings

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2. **Religious Life Before the Reformation,** T. M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation,* I, 114–157.
3. **The Catholic Church at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century,** C. J. H. Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,* I, 136–152.
4. **Luther and the Ninety-five Theses,** T. M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation,* I, 217–232.
5. **The Text of Some of the Ninety-five Theses,** J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* II, 58–61.
6. **The Diet of Worms,** F. Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution,* 112–130.
7. **Text of the Edict of Worms,** J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* II, 83–88.

Famous Contemporary Books

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CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

I. Luther at Wartburg

A. Capture

While Luther was on his way home from Worms a band of knights swept down upon his party, captured him and carried him away into the forest. Everybody thought he was kidnapped, but in reality the servants of the Elector of Saxony had chosen this way to protect the reformer from the emperor. They took him secretly to the strong castle of Wartburg. There Luther began a translation of the New Testament, which was completed in the next year and followed later by a translation of the Old Testament. It was one of his greatest contributions to the Reformation. One reason was because it was translated directly from the original language of Greek and was consequently more accurate than any previous German translation. In addition it combined Luther's vigorous style with the choice diction of the Saxon secretarial office. Since it was widely used it helped greatly to give unity and beauty to the German tongue. Lastly, it placed in the hands of his followers a book from which they could fashion weapons in their defense. To be sure, there were German translations in existence but none so worthy or widespread as Luther's.

B. Translation of the New Testament, Dec. 1521–Sept. 1522

II. The radical party

A. Carlstadt

Meanwhile events were taking place in Wittenberg which were not at all to Luther's fancy. One of his disciples named Carlstadt had assumed the lead there and made radical changes. He took the doctrines of his master and carried them to their logical limits. Many of the practices of the church were abolished; such as the peculiar vestments of the priest and the repetition of Christ's crucifixion in the mass. Other preachers more radical than Carlstadt came to Wittenberg, riots occurred and there were deeds of violence.

B. Luther's return

Luther was horrified. While he agreed that much of what was done was theoretically correct he objected to such sudden

March 6, 1522

C. Anabaptists

and disorderly changes. He saw that it would bring condemnation upon the Reformation as a dangerous movement. In March he appeared in Wittenberg and after a week of preaching he regained control of the city. Carlstadt and the other violent leaders were exiled. But they were not convinced. They became the nucleus of a new party in the Reformation, who renounced Luther's authority. This party acquired the name of Anabaptists — that is, Rebaptists — because they did not believe in infant baptism and baptized again all their members who had been baptized in infancy. While this was one of their distinctive beliefs, there were other features which were more characteristic of them. One was their extremely literal interpretation of the Bible. For instance, they would not hold civil office because it involved taking an oath contrary to the Biblical command to "swear not at all." Another was their rejection of any kind of an established church and their belief that each congregation should be independent. Besides, they leaned toward mysticism — the emphasis on feeling rather than dogma in religion. In general their most common characteristic was a tendency to go to extremes and for this reason the name Anabaptist soon became synonymous with radical. Large numbers of the lower classes joined their ranks and were severely persecuted both by Catholics and Lutherans.

III. Catholic Reform Party

A. Adrian VI (1522–1523)

1522

1524, f.

In the year after the Diet of Worms, Adrian VI was elected pope and adopted from the beginning of his reign two definite policies. One was to purify the church of immorality and similar evils. The other was to cleanse it of heresy. To achieve these ends he began negotiations which finally resulted in two leagues of German Catholic princes. The princes agreed to suppress heresy upon condition that the pope make reforms in the church. This was the first step in the organization of a Catholic Reform Party; that is, a party within the church that tried to reform it.

B. Humanists

Another step in the same direction was the winning of the humanists. When Luther first made his attack upon the established order, Europe had looked to Erasmus for a decision in the matter, because he was the most learned man and most widely known writer in Europe. Up to that time he had led in the condemnation of the evils in the church. At first Erasmus encouraged Luther without openly approving his ideas. But after Luther became more radical, attacked the papacy, and used violent language, Erasmus changed his opinion. For a long time he hesitated to make any open choice between the two sides but finally he was forced to do so and he decided against Luther. There were three things that he disliked in Luther's conduct. One was his separation from the church. Erasmus thought that the reformers should uphold the organization of the church, agitate for reform from within, and meanwhile be patient. A second thing he condemned was Luther's violence; a third was his dogmatism. Luther advanced certain beliefs or dogmas which he insisted that everybody must accept. To Erasmus this was intolerance. He wanted more room for freedom of thought. For these reasons he joined the party of Catholic reform and attacked Luther in a pamphlet on the freedom of the will. Luther replied 1524 and a controversy began that ended in bitter hostility between the two men. A large number of humanists followed Erasmus, and thus the Reformation lost the support of a group that had done much to start it. There were now three well defined parties all demanding reform: the Lutherans, the Anabaptists and the Catholic reformers.

IV. Peasants' Revolt, 1524–1525

A. Causes

This division was made sharper by the Peasants' Revolt. The main causes for the revolt were as follows: first, the oppression of the peasants. 1. Oppression Perhaps their condition was growing better instead of worse, but at any rate they felt that the treatment which they received from their lords was unbearable. They complained of excessive manorial dues, harsh restrictions, and other evils. 2. Discontent These evils brought about a feeling of discontent which reached a crisis in 1524. There was nothing peculiar in the situation in 1524 that caused it — it was a condition which had existed for a long time. 3. Economic maladjustment The chief cause was the difficulty encountered by the peasant in adjusting himself to the changing economic conditions of the age. The increased use of money, the growth of commerce, and the rise of towns created a new economic system in which the old manorial dues of labor and produce were misplaced and consequently oppressive.

B. Events
1. Outbreak
2. Twelve Articles
3. Suppression

The revolt began late in 1524 in southwestern Germany and spread rapidly northward. It was joined not only by thousands of peasants, but also by large numbers of artisans from the towns. They gathered in huge bands that roved the country and began to plunder the castles of the nobles. They made various statements of their demands, of which the one most commonly advanced was called the Twelve Articles. In these they made chiefly two requests; first the abolition of serfdom, manorial dues and hunting monopolies. Secondly, they asked the right of each community to choose and control its own pastor. They appealed to the Reformation for support, claiming that they wanted to reform the church. During the winter and spring their acts of violence increased and many people were murdered in cold blood. The nobles had been caught unprepared, because most of the professional soldiers were away fighting the Turks and the French. They came back as soon as possible, and in April attacked the peasants in full force. Of course their training gave them a vast advantage. The peasants were quickly scattered, vast numbers of them were slaughtered, and in two months the revolt was practically over.

C. Results
1. Luther turns against peasants
2. Lower classes turn against Luther

Luther's attitude toward the revolt was important. At first he had sympathized with the peasants and reproved the nobles for abuses in their rule. But as the violence of the movement increased he turned against the poor people and condemned them in the most extreme language. He urged the nobles to kill them, and told the soldiers that they could die in no better cause. The result was that all the rest of his life he had a distrust of the common people and placed his confidence in the middle and upper classes. Likewise the lower classes looked upon him as a traitor, rejected his leadership, and became Anabaptists in large numbers.

V. Organization of Lutherans
A. Government

As the Lutheran party was joined by prince after prince and city after city, it developed a common type of organization in government, liturgy and literature. In government the fundamental principle was state control. The various states adopting Lutheranism confiscated the property of the medieval church and used it partly for the support of the new church, partly for charitable purposes, and partly for state expenses. In many cases princes were influenced to join the Reformation by a greedy desire to seize church property for their own use. The state not only supported the church but also regulated it and gave it a monopoly of religious activities. The territory was divided into districts over each of which was placed a superintendent appointed by the state. These were again divided into parishes which chose their own pastors. They were visited regularly by the superintendent for inspection, and any clergymen found unfit for office were dismissed. In liturgy Luther's principle was to keep everything not expressly forbidden by the Bible. Still, many new elements were introduced. For instance, Lutherans used the vernacular — that is, German — instead of Latin, and a much greater emphasis was placed on the sermon. The reading of the Bible was given an important place, and congregational singing was developed by a more extensive use of hymns. Luther himself composed the greatest hymn of the Reformation, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God." The ceremony of the Lord's Supper was radically changed by omitting the repetition of Christ's crucifixion, and by giving the laity the cup as well as the bread. Literature formed a third and important element in Lutheran organization. One type of writing that appeared was the catechism; a statement of belief in the form of questions and answers intended to be memorized. Another type was the pamphlet, which performed a service similar to that of the modern newspaper in spreading propaganda. Luther was one of the greatest masters of all time in this type of literature, for he had a vigorous style, a gift for presenting arguments that appealed to the common man, and a powerful vocabulary. A third type was commentaries on the Bible; that is, books which explained portions of the Scriptures by the use of grammar, history, and a full statement of the teachings involved. All these books developed a common fund of ideas which helped to unify the Lutheran party. At the same time they also excluded from it those who held different opinions or were unwilling to give up the right to discover truth as Luther had done in the first place.

B. Liturgy

C. Literature

VI. Diet of Augsburg, 1530

During the eight years that followed the Diet of Worms, 1521, a large number of the German states forsook the Roman Catholic Church and adopted this Lutheran form of organization. Finally the emperor ordered them to restore Roman Catholic worship. To this they replied with a Protest refusing to do so and thus they acquired the name of Protestants. In order to settle the matter the emperor called the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. He invited the leaders of the Protestants, except Luther, to be present and to make a statement of their beliefs. This they did in a document called the Augsburg Confession. It was composed by Melanchthon, one of Luther's followers and a more learned theologian than his master. He was anxious to reach a compromise with the Catholics and so he tried to make the points of disagreement as small as possible. To do this he contended that the Lutherans differed in no essential from the early church. The document was so well composed that it has ever since been one of the standards of belief for the Lutheran Church. After it was read to the diet Charles handed it to the Catholic theologians for their opinion. Led by Eck, they prepared a Confutation which rejected all the ideas different from the established beliefs of the church. Melanchthon in turn wrote out an Apology for the Augsburg Confession in which he defended it against the Confutation. Under these conditions a compromise was impossible. The diet issued a recess ordering the Protestants to return to the church before April 15, 1531, and forsake their new beliefs.

1529

A. Call

B. Augsburg Confession

C. Confutation

D. Apology

E. Recess of Augsburg

VII. Reformation in German Switzerland

A. Political and social conditions

While Lutheranism was thus gaining strength in Germany, a similar movement of reform called Zwinglianism had sprung up in Switzerland. In order to understand this movement it is necessary to study briefly the political and social conditions in Switzerland. During the Middle Ages the Swiss began to struggle for freedom from the Hapsburg rule. Early in the fourteenth century three small states called cantons were formed around Lake Lucerne and defeated the Hapsburgs in battle. After this beginning more cantons were added, more battles were won and a greater degree of freedom was gradually gained. By 1500 the Swiss Confederation was composed of thirteen cantons. The Confederation possessed com-

1315

plete independence from the control of the emperor and was only geographically a part of the Empire. In addition, each state was practically autonomous, because the central government of the Confederation was composed of a diet with almost no power to enforce its decisions. The cantons were divided into two groups; the rural and the city cantons. There were also the common lands held by all. Linguistically the country was separated into three parts. One was inhabited mainly by Germans, another by French and a third by Italians. Switzerland was noted in Europe for her well-trained foot soldiers, who were hired in large numbers by the pope, the King of France and others to fight their wars. This traffic in mercenaries brought wealth to the country. Unfortunately it had an evil side, for it also brought needless misery to the homes of those killed in foreign wars. A strong characteristic of the people was their spirit of independence, and consequently it was not strange that the Reformation soon spread among them.

B. Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531)

The man who led the movement for reform in German Switzerland was Ulrich Zwingli. He began life as a humanist. After he was ordained a priest, he became one of the most noted preachers in Switzerland. The element in his message which appealed most to his audiences was his strong demand for reform. First he attacked the mercenary traffic in soldiers by which the young men of Switzerland were sent to a horrible death in foreign lands. Next he objected to indulgences. So eloquent were his sermons that he was called to the most important preaching appointment in the large city of Zürich. Jan. 1, 1519 There he attacked fasting, and in a short time he was preaching 1522 the Protestant doctrines already advocated by Luther. This brought upon him the condemnation of the bishop, but Zwingli was able to persuade the citizens of Zürich that he was right, and after a few years of conflict the city broke away completely 1525 from the Roman Catholic Church.

C. Spread of Zwinglianism

The example of Zürich was followed by a number of other cities which came under Zwingli's influence. One of these was Bern, where a disputation was held on the doctrines of the Reformation. Jan. 6–26, 1528 As a basis for discussion a list of ten theses was drawn up, and after the Catholics were officially declared

1529

Feb. 20, 1529

defeated these theses became one of the most important statements of Zwinglian beliefs. Bern announced her decision to join the Reformation by abolishing the mass. The same action was taken in the next year by Basel, where John Oecolampadius was the leading reformer, and by the neighboring German city of Strasbourg where Martin Bucer was the leader. These and other cities formed a group that recognized the greatness of Luther's contributions but looked to Zwingli as their master. The two men differed in that Luther became a reformer as the product of a deep religious experience, while Zwingli arrived at the same end as a result of his humanistic studies. Zwingli was jealous of Luther and claimed to have reached his beliefs independently.

D. Strife over Lord's Supper

1. Catholic belief

2. Lutheran belief

3. Zwingli's belief

4. Controversy

The article of belief on which they differed most was the Lord's Supper. The Catholics held the doctrine of transubstantiation, which asserted that when Christ said "This is my body" he meant that the bread and wine became physically his body and blood. Luther rejected this view, and advanced a doctrine called consubstantiation or real presence, which meant that the body and blood of Christ were physically present in, with and under the bread and wine, but that these elements remained the same. When Carlstadt was expelled from Wittenberg, he proclaimed a new belief in a symbolical presence — that the bread and wine were only symbols of the body and blood. Of course Luther attacked this as one of Carlstadt's many errors. But it happened that Zwingli became convinced of the truth of the symbolical view and defended it against Luther. The result was a bitter controversy in which they condemned each other in harsh terms. Not only that, but practically every leader of the Reformation took one side or the other, and the movement was rent by strife. The Lutherans contended that Christ's statement could not be explained in any other way than that there was a real presence of Christ's body. The Zwinglians argued that this was unreasonable, because his body could not be in more than one place at the same time. To these arguments others were added until the whole controversy was bewildering.

The strife became so serious a handicap to the Reformation

5. Marburg Colloquy, 1529

that finally Landgrave Philip of Hesse tried to make peace by summoning the leaders of both sides to a colloquy at his castle of Marburg. There Luther and Zwingli argued the matter at great length but were unable to agree. In the next year Martin Bucer of Strasbourg started an effort to achieve agreement on the Supper which finally resulted in a compromise called the Wittenberg Concord. The quarrel was thus sufficiently patched up to give the Protestants greater unity than before.

6. Wittenberg Concord, May 28, 1536

E. Civil War Oct. 11, 1531

The Reformation divided the cantons of Switzerland into two groups — Protestant and Catholic. Soon a brief civil war broke out between them, and in the battle of Cappel Zwingli was killed. The war ended then with an agreement that each canton should have full liberty to regulate its internal affairs.

1531

VIII. Reformation in Germany, 1530–1555

A. Growth of Protestants

As pointed out above, the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, closed with an order by the emperor that the Protestants should give up their beliefs. However, due to wars in other countries and similar distractions, the emperor was unable to enforce this order. Meanwhile the strength and numbers of the Protestants increased. Consequently Charles decided to try again to reach a compromise between the two opposing sides. For that purpose he called a series of conferences, but all in vain, because the Lutherans and Catholics were unable to agree. After that the next solution was war. The emperor attacked the Protestants and at first won a complete victory. But his success did not last long. In a few years a league was secretly organized against him, and he was not only defeated, but even driven from Germany. His brother Ferdinand took his place and called the Diet of Augsburg, 1555, in order to establish a settlement of the religious dispute.

1539–1541

B. War, 1546–1552

1552

C. Peace of Augsburg, Sept. 25, 1555

The Diet of Augsburg, 1555, drew up a compromise, known as the Peace of Augsburg, that was destined to endure in principle in the Empire for a long while. It had three important provisions. The first was territorial control of religion. Each prince or state was given the right to decide whether the religion in that territory should be Catholic or Lutheran, and all who were unwilling to accept it were allowed to leave without injury. This principle was expressed in the Latin phrase *cuius regio eius religio* (whose the territory, his the religion), and was generally known as territorialism. It was practically the same arrangement as that made in Switzerland. The second provision was that no more ecclesiastical property should be confiscated in addition to that already taken by the time of the armistice at the end of the war. The third provision was called the ecclesiastical reservation. It stated that any officer of the church, who was also the possessor of any property of the church, could not retain possession either of the office or of the property, if he changed his religion. Thus the land was reserved to the Catholic church. This meant that the property holdings of the church were to remain as they existed at the end of the war.

The Peace of Augsburg had two serious weaknesses that laid trouble for the future and kept it from being a permanent settlement. In the first place there was no means provided for enforcing it peaceably. A prince might take property from the church in violation of its provisions, and the only way in which he could be forced to restore it would be by war. Such a war would inevitably involve other states because his allies could not afford to let him be defeated. The second weakness was that only two religious parties were recognized as legal; Catholics and Lutherans. Yet there were many other sects, and one of these, the Calvinists, was growing rapidly in Germany. The time was sure to come when they too would demand toleration and would fight to gain it. Religious division involved political division and was to result finally in religious wars.

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CHAPTER V

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

I. Rivalry of Hapsburg and Valois

A. Francis I (1515–1547)

B. Campaign of Marignano, Sept. 13–14, 1515

C. Concordat of Bologna, 1516

The rivalry of the Houses of Hapsburg and Valois continued to dominate the political history of France during the first half of the sixteenth century, and Italy continued to be the main object of dispute. Francis I came to the throne of France in 1515 with everything apparently in his favor. He was big, handsome, and gay; rich, powerful and gallant; but he had no moral scruples and was badly spoiled. Art and literature found in him a most generous patron, and the spread of the Renaissance in France was due largely to his assistance. The glory of war appealed to him, and the success which he won at first turned his head. He thought of himself as the most powerful king in Europe, and failed to realize how uncertain that power might be. A short time after his coronation he invaded Italy, and by the hard-fought but decisive victory of Marignano gained possession of Milan. The pope was badly frightened, and decided that it would be wise to come to terms with this new conqueror. The result was a treaty between them called the Concordat of Bologna. It gave Francis the right to appoint all the archbishops, bishops and abbots in France, while in return the pope received only a guarantee of certain revenues and the endorsement of his superiority to a council.

D. Election of Emperor, 1519

1521

In the next encounter Francis was not so fortunate. He attempted to bribe the electors of the Holy Roman Empire to choose him instead of the Hapsburg heir Charles as the next emperor. But Charles and his grandfather Maximilian were so much more skillful in the use of both bribery and threats that Francis lost the election and found himself faced by a bitter enemy. Charles was almost the exact opposite of the Valois king — ugly, sober and shrewd. He renewed the struggle for Italy soon after his coronation, fought fiercely for several years, and then, almost by accident, won a brilliant victory at Pavia. Though the battle lasted only a few hours, Francis was not only defeated but also captured — being too gallant to escape. In despair he wrote to his mother, "I have lost everything except my honor and my life," and confided his kingdom to her care. For months he was closely imprisoned while negotiations dragged on that finally culminated in the Treaty of Madrid. In return for great concessions he was given his freedom, but as soon as he found himself safe in Paris he broke his promises and renewed the war. Still luck was against him. It happened that an army of Spanish and German mercenaries in Italy was on the point of mutiny because their wages had not been paid, when their general hinted that they might get plenty of plunder by attacking Rome. The hint was quickly taken, the papal city was twice sacked ferociously, and the pope was forced to make peace. This deprived Francis of an ally, and after further reverses he made the Treaty of Cambrai, giving up all claim to Italy.

E. Pavia, Feb. 24, 1525

Feb. 11, 1526

F. Sack of Rome, May and Sept., 1527

The Treaty of Cambrai stopped the strife between the two dynasties only temporarily. During the years that followed it broke forth again and again. On one occasion, when two French ambassadors in Italy were murdered, Francis made this a cause for war and invaded the Netherlands. He had as his allies the Duke of Cleves and the King of England. But Charles was more than a match for them all. In a few weeks he compelled the duke to cede Gelders and break his French alliance. The next year he defeated France, and, to gain a speedy peace, granted her generous terms in the Treaty of Crépy. Though the treaty was generous, it brought the fortunes of the Valois kings to their lowest point. It marked the turn in the tide, for from that time on they were more successful. After the death of Francis his son Henry II renewed the struggle and captured four important fortresses: Metz, Toul, Verdun and Calais. Then he made the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, which suspended the conflict for almost the rest of the century.

G. Treaty of Cambrai, 1529

Sept. 7, 1543

H. Treaty of Crépy, Sept. 18, 1544

I. Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559

The Reformation spread to France after it broke forth

II. Reformation in France

A. Differences

1. Lack of national appeal

2. Lack of a leader

in the Empire, and soon Luther's books were widely read. It differed from the same movement in Germany in two respects. First, it lacked national appeal. France had already achieved nationality, and her people had little reason to feel that patriotism and rejection of the pope's authority were one and the same. Besides, the king had no quarrel with the pope because the Concordat of Bologna gave him control of the French church. In fact, the conquests of Charles V in Italy made the papacy the natural ally of Francis against him. Consequently the French king had no reason for encouraging the Reformation. To him it was a hindrance — not a help. A second difference between the Reformation in France and that in Germany was that the former lacked a leader at first. For many years there was no great personality to champion the cause of reform, urge people to break with the church, and defy the pope as Luther did in Germany. It was not for a generation that a man was found with the gift of leadership as well as the desire for reform.

B. Parties

1. Humanists

1512

There were three parties of reform in France, just as in Germany. One of these was the Humanists. Of the humanistic reformers many had a religious interest. They were men of learning, who wished to consecrate their knowledge to Christianity, and thought that one way to do it was to study the Bible and improve the common understanding of it. This group was led by Jacques Lefèvre, a peace-loving scholar who published a translation of the Pauline Epistles with a commentary. In this commentary he advanced the same belief as Luther later did of justification by faith. He also rejected transubstantiation and revised a French version of the entire Bible. The other leader of the group was Margaret d'Angoulême, the Queen of Navarre and sister of the king. She combined a high type of mystical piety with unusual intellectual ability. Though she never broke with the church, she discarded all respect for medieval Christianity and welcomed some of the beliefs of the Reformation. She was greatly admired by her brother Francis and used her influence with him to protect such thinkers as Lefèvre. Among the servants of her household were enrolled many friends of reform who thus gained immunity from persecution. The other type of humanistic reformers were the free-thinkers called libertines. Led by men like Rabelais, they supported the Reformation in breaking down intellectual restraints, but did not sympathize with it when it erected an evangelical system of dogma and broke forth into revolution.

2. Catholic reformers

The second party was the Catholic reformers. They were led by the theological faculty of the University of Paris, called the Sorbonne. Like the same party in Germany they opposed any change in the organization and doctrine of the church and exerted their efforts to purify and defend it. They were anxious to cleanse the church of its evils, and of these evils they regarded heresy as the worst.

3. Huguenots

The third party was composed of those who broke away from the church and were later given the name Huguenots. They were recruited mainly from the middle classes and the artisans. Like the Protestants in Germany they repudiated the papacy and the hierarchical system. They also discarded many of the beliefs of the church and gradually developed a new system of doctrine of their own.

C. Persecution, Aug., 1521

For a while the Reformation encountered little real opposition in France. Luther's books were condemned, but there was no serious persecution until the king's imprisonment in Spain made it necessary for his mother, the regent, to seek the support of the Catholics by attacking heresy. The king stopped the persecution as soon as he returned, and it was not renewed until a few years later, when a statue of the Virgin was found beheaded. From that time on the king persecuted the Huguenots periodically, either because he was angered by some such act of vandalism, or because it suited his political purposes. At times Francis restrained the persecutors in order not to offend the Protestants of Germany with whom he sought an alliance. He had so little religious sense that he never understood the Reformation either as a danger to the church or as a new form of Christianity. The first martyr was Louis Berquin, a nobleman. The next severe persecution was caused by the affair of the placards, when some fanatic wrote a poster attacking the mass in violent language, and posted it all over

1525

May 31, 1528

Oct. 18, 1534

Paris. It was even tacked to the door of the king's bedchamber. He was furious. Again he kindled the fires of persecution and for many months they raged in the vain attempt to burn out heresy. After a time persecution became continuous and more general. Not only were heretics executed, but lists of prohibited heretical books were issued to help the persecutors detect them, and articles of Catholic belief were composed. The worst persecution during the reign of Francis was the massacre of the Waldenses. Back in the fourteenth century these people had been induced to populate a deserted valley in Provence by the promise of religious freedom for two hundred years. Since their beliefs were similar to those of Luther, they aided the Reformation and thus brought upon themselves the wrath of the Catholics. For a time Francis refused to let them be harmed, but finally he approved a secret order for their extermination. (Jan. 1, 1545) A small army invaded the district. In seven weeks of horrible atrocities they murdered some three thousand people, and exiled or imprisoned the rest. Whole towns were destroyed and the beautiful country blackened by fire and death. (1547) Soon afterwards Francis died and his son Henry II came to the throne. Henry made the extirpation of heresy one of the chief policies of his reign. He persecuted not from necessity but from choice. (Oct. 8, 1547) A special division of the Parlement of Paris was organized, called the *Chambre Ardente,* and the prisons were filled with Protestants. Nevertheless, even the severest measures failed to stop the spread of the Reformation, and the number of Huguenots constantly increased. Toward the end of his reign large numbers of the nobility were converted and the Huguenots gradually became a powerful political party.

D. Calvin
1. Life
July 10, 1509

The French Reformation found a leader in John Calvin. Calvin was born in Noyon, a small city a little north of the Seine. His father was a citizen of some importance and saw to it that his son had a good education in theology and law. In both subjects he showed exceptional ability. When he was about twenty-four years old he was suddenly converted to Protestant beliefs, and (1534) during the affair of the placards he was forced to flee for his life to Basel. There he published a small book called *The Institutes* (i.e. Principles) *of the Christian Religion*. It was an immediate success, and in a short time he was a famous figure. A second edition was necessary in a few years, then another and another, each larger than the last, until it filled three big volumes. It was the best systematic presentation of Protestant beliefs which had been composed up to that time. After such an achievement it was impossible for him to live safely in France, so he planned to go to Germany to study, and on his way stopped in the city of Geneva. There the whole course of his life was changed. It happened that shortly before this Geneva had won its complete independence from the Duke of Savoy, and had also discarded the authority of the bishop as part of the past age of oppression. In this undertaking the Genevese were assisted by the Protestant city of Bern, and consequently the Protestant party in Geneva was able to gain the establishment of the Reformation. In this movement they were led by a fiery preacher named William Farel. When Farel learned that the brilliant young author of the *Institutes* was stopping in Geneva, he urged him to stay and help in the reformation of the city. Calvin felt much more inclined to a life of peaceful study, but Farel threatened him so fiercely with divine vengeance, if he refused the call of duty, that he stayed. Then he started to put his theories into practice in the most thorough manner. In fact, he went to such extremes and established such strict discipline that two years later he and Farel were exiled. A refuge was offered him in Strasbourg by Bucer, but it was only temporary. Three years later, the party that supported him in Geneva having returned to power, he was recalled. There he stayed for the rest of his life. He became the outstanding leader of the Reformation not only in Switzerland but also in France; and his influence extended to the Netherlands, England, Scotland, Germany, Bohemia, and other countries.

1536

1536

1536

1538

1540–1541

2. Contributions

a. System of belief

It was Calvin's contributions which made him such a great power in the Reformation. The first of these was a system of belief called Calvinism. In brief, it taught that all mankind was tainted by Adam's sin so that nothing that man could do was free from blemish. This was called natural depravity.

God took pity upon man in this unfortunate condition and chose some to be saved. This belief was named predestination. Why certain ones were chosen Calvin did not explain, except to say that it was God's will. Since these persons, called the elect, were chosen by God, it was absolutely certain that they would be saved, because God was all-powerful. In order to save them he sent his son Christ to die on the cross and thus pay the penalty for their sin. This was called the atonement and was necessary because nothing man could do would be sufficient to efface the guilt of sin. Then God sent the Holy Spirit to remove the traces of sin from man's nature and restore it to complete righteousness. This was done chiefly by the means of grace; that is, prayer, reading the Bible, the sacraments, and the church. On the Lord's Supper Calvin taught that Christ is spiritually present, though not perceptible by the senses, and gives believers a real spiritual benefit. This belief was called the spiritual presence and differed from that of either the Catholics, Luther or Zwingli. To the men of Calvin's day Calvinism was a system of belief full of hope. It made it impossible for the church to shut them out of heaven, because a man's salvation depended not on the mediation of the priest but upon the choice of God. The fact that a man desired salvation and tried to live a holy life was good evidence that God had chosen him. The thought that he was one of the elect inspired him to live such a devout and industrious life as only the elect would choose to live. The Calvinists knew what they believed and why. Calvin had given them a line of argument that proved it. They could face the stake and the sword with the firm conviction that death only hastened their entrance into heaven. There was no tendency for predestination to degenerate into fatalism, because it was not blind choice but the act of a wise God. It did not discourage initiative, because it was only a part of a system in which religious activity was highly important. It is a mistake to identify predestination and Calvinism. Predestination was only a part of Calvinism, and a part which Calvin did not stress in so one-sided a manner as later theologians.

Calvin's second contribution was a system of government

b. System of government

called presbyterianism. The name presbyterianism was used because the chief officials were called presbyters or elders. It was a representative form of government. Each church was governed by the congregation and officers which it elected. These officers were the pastor, the elders and the deacons. The local churches were grouped into a district ruled by an assembly of representatives from each congregation. These districts were grouped into a still larger one ruled by a similar assembly, and finally there was an assembly of representatives who had jurisdiction over all the churches. This was essentially republicanism and it appealed to the classes who were struggling for democratic government. These were mainly the middle classes and it was among them that Calvinism was strongest. By such a form of government the Protestants gained unity and efficiency.

c. Stronghold

The third contribution made by Calvin was to develop Geneva into a stronghold for the Reformation. By the sheer power of his superior intellect and will he gained a position of complete dominance in the city after a long and bitter struggle. Never was he given any other official position than that of pastor, but he remodeled the whole life of the town in accordance with his beliefs. The policy of the state was guided by the advice of the church. For that reason it has been called the Genevan theocracy. A strict moral code was established by which people were forced to go to church, and evil conduct was prohibited. It was significant, not because it forbade such things as dancing and card-playing — these were only details — but because it upheld the principle of sober, industrious living. It changed Geneva into an eminently respectable city and proved that Calvinism made men live better lives. It restrained and disciplined the radical element that usually breaks loose during revolutionary movements and discredits them. Calvin also developed a good system of education with the University of Geneva as its culmination. Commerce was encouraged and Geneva became one of the most prosperous cities in Europe. Merchants found the strict moral code a benefit, not a handicap. To persecuted Protestants of all nations Calvin offered a refuge, and, unless they deliberately tried to overthrow what he thought was true belief, they were not punished for differences of opinion. They came to Geneva in large numbers and from long distances. There they studied, worshiped, and became so infused with Calvinism that when they were able to return to their own lands they carried it with them.

d. Dynamic power

Calvin's fourth contribution was a dynamic power. Whatever his much disputed personality may have been, it is evident that he had the gift of making disciples. Men who came under his influence obeyed him with implicit devotion. This was especially true in his relations with France. Geneva was geographically located near the center of France, and from this center Calvin's influence radiated throughout the country. He wrote an enormous number of letters to his followers, encouraging them, guiding them and even reproving them. He infused the students at Geneva with missionary zeal to carry their message to the persecuted Huguenots and to convert others. He wrote commentaries on the Bible that explained its meaning in clear and vigorous language. He developed a liturgy that was widely adopted. Thus by his books, his letters, and his own life of extreme self-denial he inspired the Huguenots with enthusiasm. When they were persecuted, they merely fled to other lands and so spread the influence of Calvinism.

E. Organization of French Evangelical Church

May 25–27, 1559

One direct result of Calvin's leadership was the organization of the French Evangelical Church. For some time groups met secretly in different places in France, and then in 1559 an assembly met in Paris, which established a Calvinistic form of government for the whole nation. It drew up a statement of belief called the Gallican Confession, which was essentially the same as Calvin's teachings, and in a revised form is still the standard today. With this achievement the history of the French Reformation entered upon a new era.

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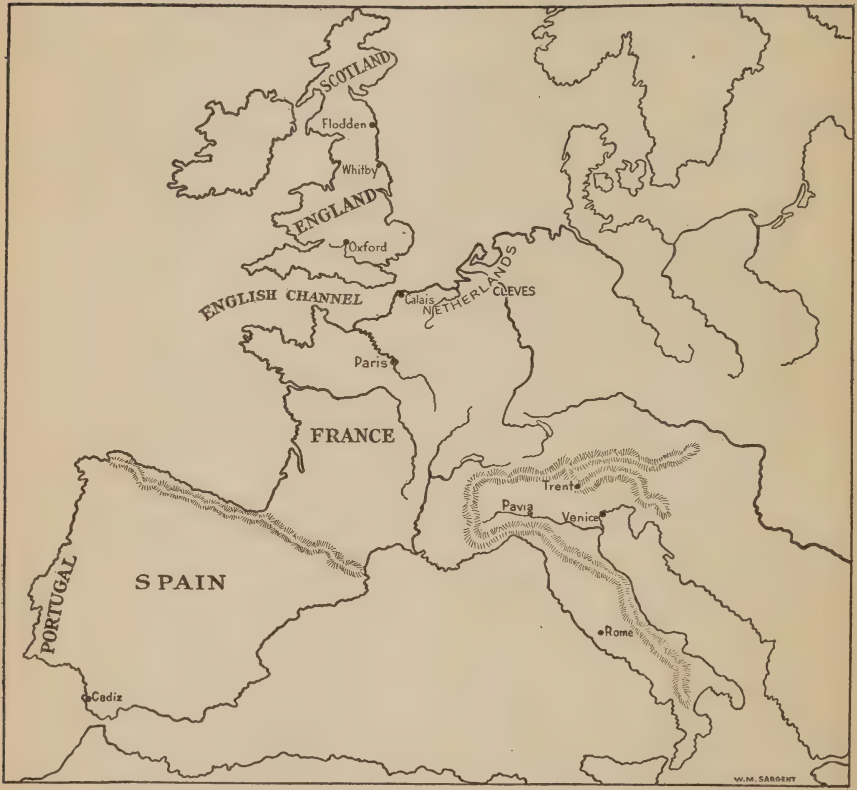
SCOTLAND
Flodden
Whitby
ENGLAND
Oxford
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Calais
NETHERLANDS
CLEVES
Paris
FRANCE
Trent
Pavia
Venice
Rome
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Cadiz
W.M. SARGENT

The Reformation in England and the Catholic Reformation

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

I. Henry VIII (1509–1547)

A. Personality

At the opening of the sixteenth century England was ruled by Henry VII, the first of the house of Tudor. When he died in 1509 he was followed by his son Henry VIII. The young king was popular from the start. Physically strong and handsome, he gained general admiration by his athletic prowess and courtly manners. At the same time he was a good spender, and in the eyes of the people of England this was no fault, for they were tired of his father's miserly ways. Politically he was one of the most astute despots produced by an age of despots, for he knew well how to clothe an iron gauntlet in a glove of silk. In appearances he respected all the forms of constitutional government, but in reality he ruled with absolute power; and he was able to do it because he was wise enough to cultivate popularity, to make obedience to his will look like patriotism, and to let the nation have the form of power so long as he had the substance.

B. Wolsey

The most important of Henry's ministers during the first part of his reign was Thomas Wolsey, a butcher's son. He was educated to be a clergyman, but like many of his class entered the royal service. During the War of the Holy League, he demonstrated his ability by organizing the expeditions against France. Finally he saved his royal master by negotiating a favorable treaty with France when all had gone wrong. Henry's ally Spain had deserted him; an expedition from Calais had failed; and only the defeat of the Scotch at Flodden had lightened a long period of disasters. In return Wolsey was rewarded by a number of high offices in church and state, being made lord chancellor, Archbishop of York, cardinal and papal legate. He became fabulously wealthy, the conduct of the government was entrusted almost completely to his

1511–1514

Sept. 9, 1513

control, and he lived like a prince. So great was his arrogance and power that he was cordially hated by all, but nothing seemed to dim his star of success. Overcome with ambition he cast envious eyes upon the papacy, and even influenced Henry to make another alliance with Spain in the hope that Charles V would help him to be elected pope. But Charles was just as tricky as his father before him, and Wolsey was not elected to the throne of Peter, either then or twenty months later, when there was another vacancy. Wolsey was bitterly disappointed. He sought revenge against Spain, and it was not long before his opportunity came. France was defeated by 1525 Spain at Pavia and England no longer needed to fear her power. Parliament after that refused to contribute more money for the 1525 war, and Henry was easily persuaded to desert Spain and make a truce with France.

C. Reformation 1. Causes a. Discontent b. Lollards

Meanwhile the Reformation had spread from Germany, and, in addition to the general discontent with the church prevalent everywhere, it found in England three parties already in existence who favored a change. The first of these was the Lollards, a sect started by the work of John Wyclif in the last part of the fourteenth century. Many of their beliefs were the same as those later advocated by Luther, and they held fast to them in spite of bitter persecution. Another party was composed of the humanists. They were interested not only in literature but also in religion. That the truth might be known they encouraged a study of the Bible and condemned many of the evils in the church which did not "accord" with its teachings. One of their leaders was a lawyer and writer named Sir Thomas More. In his most 1516 famous book, called *Utopia,* he drew a picture of an ideal country and thus indirectly criticized the abuses he saw in England. The nationalistic party was the third to support the cause of the Reformation, for they regarded the pope as a foreign potentate, and disliked any foreign control of England. Ever 664 since the days of Augustine and the Council of Whitby there had been a spirit of antagonism toward the supremacy of Rome over the church, and a feeling that the English church should be free to manage its own affairs.

c. Humanists

d. Nationalists

When Luther's pamphlets with their revolutionary teachings fell into the hands of people such as these, they found many friends. They also met many enemies, and of these King Henry was one. He saw to it that the reformer's books were condemned, and then proceeded to exhibit his erudition by publishing a reply called *The Defense of the Seven Sacraments*. Probably he received help from several scholars whose aid was never acknowledged, but he alone collected the credit in the form of an honorary title bestowed by the pope — " Defender of the Faith." Luther returned an answer that was far from soft, in fact he called his English majesty a " rotten worm, a snivelling, drivelling swine of a sophist." No wonder that Henry ever afterwards cherished a hatred for Lutherans. Nevertheless the new doctrines spread in England, and they were greatly helped by a new translation of the Bible into English by William Tyndale — a translation that influenced considerably the more famous King James version a century later. Thus out of the past there gathered a variety of forces all tending to tear the English church loose from its roots in Rome. There was not merely one cause for the movement but many. They did not arise suddenly at one time, but drew together slowly as the ages piled one motive for discontent upon another.

2. Controversy with Luther

May 12, 1521

1526

Then to cap the climax there was added by chance another cause that transformed them all into a tornado and swept the church of England away from its Roman foundation. This was the divorce of the king. Before Henry came to the throne his elder brother Arthur had married Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon. A few months after the marriage Arthur died without leaving any children. In order that Catherine's dowry might not be lost, Henry was betrothed to her, and a dispensation was secured from the pope permitting him to marry his brother's wife contrary to the law of the church. Soon after Henry's coronation they were married. During the following years six children were born, but all were dead at birth, or died soon after, except one, a girl named Mary. This created a serious problem, because no woman had ever inherited the English throne, and it was a question whether one could. Besides, England had recently passed through a series of bitter wars over the crown, and any un-

D. Divorce

1. Causes

1501

1502

1503

June 11, 1509

Feb. 18, 1516

a. Need of a male heir

certainty as to the succession might cause them to break forth again. Henry needed a son, but it was almost certain that Catherine would never give birth to one. Under these circumstances it was not strange if his conscience began to trouble him, because it looked as if God were punishing him for having married his brother's wife contrary to the law of the church and the Bible (Leviticus XVIII, 16). At the same time he fell deeply in love with a dark-eyed lady of the court named Anne Boleyn, and there were those who said that it was not his conscience which troubled him so much as his heart.

b. Conscience

c. Anne Boleyn

2. Proceedings
a. Secret suit, May, 1527

At any rate Henry decided that he must get rid of Catherine and marry again, so he secretly began proceedings in Wolsey's court requesting an annulment of his marriage on the ground that it was illegal and void. Though it was commonly called a divorce, strictly speaking it was not a divorce that he wanted but a decision that no real marriage had ever taken place. Such a decision would leave him free to marry again. The secret was too big to keep, it soon became known, and then Henry tried to persuade Catherine that they must separate. Of course she refused to consent — that meant the loss of her crown, the ruin of the Spanish alliance, and disgrace to her daughter. There was nothing for Henry to do but submit his case to the pope. But the pope had just been taken prisoner by Catherine's nephew, Charles V, in the sack of Rome. To defy Charles was dangerous; to offend Henry was unwise; so the pope merely delayed any decision in the case. Henry was forced to desperate measures. He dismissed Wolsey for his failure to secure the divorce and put Sir Thomas More in his place. He turned to the nationalistic party and appealed for their support. At the suggestion of a young clergyman named Thomas Cranmer he secured by fair means and by foul a long list of opinions from learned scholars that his marriage was illegal. From the clergy he gained the admission that the king was the only supreme head of the church in England and from parliament he obtained a ratification of this decision. Thus he made sure of popular support, and then he was ready for action.

b. Persuasion

c. Papal suit

d. Opinions of scholars

e. Submission of clergy and parliament, 1531–1532

f. Marriage, 1533

In the next year events moved rapidly. When Henry learned that Anne was to have a child he married her secretly. Then the pope was induced to appoint Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury; parliament referred the decision in the king's divorce case to the new archbishop; the marriage with Catherine was declared void; and that with Anne was declared legal. As an inevitable result the pope excommunicated Henry and Henry replied by forbidding the payment of taxes to the pope. A few weeks later Anne gave birth to a child, and to everybody's disappointment it was a girl. But that girl was destined to be one of the greatest rulers England has ever known — Elizabeth.

g. Divorce

h. Birth of Elizabeth

E. Separation of the Church of England

After these events reconciliation with the pope was impossible. All that remained was to give official sanction to the separation of the English church from the church of Rome, and this was accomplished by a series of acts of parliament. Of these acts the greatest was the Act of Supremacy, 1534, which declared the king to be the only supreme head on earth of the English church. This meant that the church in England became a department of the state, and henceforth it was known as the Church of England or Anglican church. It was a tremendous change, and nothing would be more incorrect than to say that it was brought about to please the whim of the king. Everything was done in a strictly legal and constitutional manner. There was some opposition but nothing serious. The mass of influential public opinion was behind the king, so that all he had to do was to place himself at the head of the movement for reform and dominate it. There were a few small revolts but they were easily suppressed. A few prominent men protested, among them Sir Thomas More, but their tongues were easily silenced by cutting off their heads. It was not so easy, however, to master fate. Three years after Henry married Anne Boleyn she was accused of adultery, perhaps falsely, and sent to the scaffold. Before a fortnight had passed the king married Jane Seymour. She gave birth to the long-desired son, but it cost her her life, and the boy, named Edward, was never strong.

1. Act of Supremacy, 1534

2. Revolts and protests

3. Execution of Anne, May 19, 1536

4. Marriage to Jane Seymour, May 30, 1536

After Sir Thomas More was executed Henry chose as his

F. Dissolution of monasteries

1. Plan

chief minister a talented and unscrupulous man named Thomas Cromwell. He suggested to the king that he might greatly increase his wealth, and at the same time weaken the class that opposed his religious policy, by closing the monasteries and confiscating their property on the charge of immorality.

2. Investigation

3. Dissolution

4. Results

The plan suited the king very well. A commission of investigation was appointed, the desired report of evil conditions was dutifully submitted, and the dissolution of the monasteries was authorized by parliament. The results of this act of despotism were far-reaching — one being the increase of poverty. No doubt in many cases the monks had outlived their usefulness, but in others they still served mankind as the protectors of the poor, the hosts of the wayfarers, and the guardians of learning. When they were eliminated, there was nobody to take their place. Another result was the increase in the wealthy class. A large part of Henry's new wealth was used to buy the favor of men by selling to them the monastic lands at bargain prices. Since the titles to their new estates rested upon Henry's favor and the preservation of the Church of England, they naturally developed into a new nobility devoted to the Tudors and committed to the separation from Rome.

G. Persecution of Protestants

1. Six Articles, 1539

2. Marriage to Anne of Cleves

1540

3. Alliance with Charles V, 1542

At the same time that Henry VIII made such great changes in the government of the English church, he opposed fiercely any changes in belief. He persecuted the Protestants bitterly, and issued a document called the Six Articles, in which he picked out the Catholic doctrines which they hated most and forbade anybody to deny that they were true. At about the same time Cromwell arranged a fourth marriage for him with Anne of Cleves, the purpose being to form an alliance with the German Protestants and especially with Duke William of Cleves. But when Anne came to England Henry discovered that the reports of her beauty were greatly exaggerated, and after he married her he decided that he didn't want an alliance with the Protestants. So Cromwell was sent to the scaffold, and Anne was divorced, pensioned and sent to the country. Then Henry turned against the German Protestants and made an alliance with Charles V. The alliance was a failure, for Charles duped him in the same way as before. Embittered by his misfortunes, hated by those who suffered from his tyranny, Henry died, very powerful and very unhappy. He had put himself at the head of the Reformation largely because it helped him get his divorce. He had separated the English church from Rome and at the same time curbed all change in belief. Yet he did not do it alone. He did it because his desires coincided with the strongest part of public opinion. He was the undisputed leader of the Nationalist party, and the Protestants were willing to accept his yoke in return for protection against the pope.

4. Death of Henry VIII, 1547

II. Edward VI (1547–1553)

A. Regency of Somerset

1. Protestant minority gets control

After the death of Henry there was nobody to curb the radicals as he had done and a Protestant minority came into power. Breaking away from all restraints they carried the Reformation to an extreme far beyond the mere reorganization which Henry had established as the limit of change. While the Protestants were a small part of the population numerically, they were strong because their leaders were men of energy and occupied places of influence. Before Henry died he appointed a council of regency to rule the kingdom during Edward's minority, and the majority of this council were Protestants. At their head was the king's uncle, Somerset, who took the title Lord Protector. The Protestant party was greatly strengthened by refugees from the continent who flocked to England upon the news of Henry's death. Restrictions on the press were lifted and a vigorous campaign of propaganda began.

2. Religious changes

a. Abolition of old forms

The Protestant party led by Somerset hastened to make a large number of changes in accordance with their views. Some of these were the removal of things they regarded as abuses. For example, the Six Articles were repealed, images were taken out of the churches with a free hand, and all the endowments of religious societies were confiscated by the state. One reason for confiscating these endowments was to secure their wealth, and another was to prevent their use for private masses for the dead. This naturally aroused the enmity of sincere Catholics who thought the dead were betrayed by the living.

Many other changes were made to establish new forms of

b. New forms

religion. A policy of toleration was established, the canon law was revised, and, most important of all, Cranmer composed the First Book of Common Prayer. This provided the clergy with mildly Protestant forms of prayer and other religious ceremonies. Since it was evident that the policy of toleration was resulting in disorder and even harmful practices, all clergymen were required to use the Book of Common Prayer in order that there might be uniformity of worship in the proper manner. Another innovation was the permission of clerical marriage, but it was a long time before it was approved by popular opinion.

3. Social reforms
a. Evils

Somerset did not stop with religious changes, he advanced to social reforms. There was a growing list of economic evils that caused widespread discontent. Prices were rising, unemployment was increasing, and a large pauper class was forming that ever afterwards was one of England's greatest problems. The chief cause of distress was the transition from the manorial system of agriculture to an individual one. On the manor all the inhabitants coöperated in tilling the land in common and were satisfied when they had produced enough to sustain themselves. Under the new system the individual produced not only for his own needs but also for sale. The most profitable form of production for sale was sheep-raising, and sheep-raising required fences. Consequently the lords of the manors enclosed all the land they could, including land which by the manor system all had used in common. In the process many of the inhabitants of the manors were forced to leave. The

b. Investigation

enclosures were in the line of progress, but it was progress that caused intense suffering, and Somerset appointed a commission of investigation to see what could be done. His commission was a failure. People were either afraid or refused to testify against the landlords. Worse still a rebellion broke out and Somerset was compelled to suppress it to restore order. Thus he lost the friendship of both landlords and peasants. At the same time his foreign policy involved him in disastrous wars

c. Overthrow of Somerset, 1549

with France and Scotland. The enemies he had created by his social reforms seized the opportunity to overthrow him, and his place was taken by Dudley, the Earl of Warwick. In accordance with the political code of the times, Somerset was imprisoned and later executed.

B. Regency of Northumberland

Warwick, who was made Duke of Northumberland, completely reversed Somerset's social and foreign policies. The change in agriculture was allowed to take its course, and the enclosures continued unrestricted. Peace with Scotland and France was gained by humiliating concessions. The religious policy was carried on just the same. This offended the Catholics, who had joined his plot against Somerset with the understanding that the rule of the Protestant minority would be curbed. The Book of Common Prayer was made more Protestant, and to it was added a statement of belief called the Forty-Two Articles. Meanwhile the young king had become the victim of tuberculosis. It was evident that he could not live much longer and then his place would be taken by his sister Mary Tudor, the unhappy daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary was a devout Catholic; as, indeed, she could hardly have failed to be because of the harsh treatment which she and her mother had received from Henry VIII. If she came to the throne, the Protestant minority would go out of power. Consequently Northumberland laid a plot to keep her from the crown. He married his son to Lady Jane Grey, the grandniece of Henry, and on Edward's death she was proclaimed queen. But the plot failed — failed partly because a reaction was due against the extreme policy of the Protestants, partly because the Catholics were seeking revenge for the way in which Northumberland had betrayed them before, and partly because the whole affair was badly mishandled. Mary secured the crown with hardly an effort, and Lady Jane Grey was executed along with her father-in-law.

1. Religious policy

1552

1553

2. Plot to change succession

1553

1553

III. Mary I (1553–1558)

During the reign of Mary Tudor, sometimes called Mary I, a Catholic minority came into power and carried matters to the other extreme. Her reign was characterized by four clearly marked features. First, she formed an alliance with Spain by marrying her cousin Philip II, the son of Charles V. She loved Spain and she loved Philip, but it was an unfortunate marriage. The people of England opposed it because they feared the possibility that Spain might gain control over Eng-

A. Marriage

land. Philip was younger than Mary; he never returned the love which she felt for him; and, when she failed to give birth to a child who might unite the two countries, he deserted her and went back to Spain. Besides, the marriage naturally involved England in a war with France, the enemy of Spain. This disastrous war was the second feature of Mary's reign. The French took Calais, the last English possession remaining on the continent, and Mary was so distressed by the catastrophe that she is reported to have said, "When I die, open up my body, and on my heart you will find written, Calais." The third feature of her rule was the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church. All the acts passed during the reigns of Henry and Edward to separate England from Rome and change the form of religion were repealed. The pope sent a special legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole; parliament kneeled before him; and once more the pope's authority was recognized in England. But at the same time none of the lands taken from the church were restored.

B. War with France

1558

C. Restoration of Roman Catholic Church

D. Persecution

Then followed as a natural consequence a fourth feature; the persecution of the Protestants who refused to submit to the change. In numbers the martyrs were not many compared to those who perished in other countries, but certain characteristics made the persecution so unpopular that the queen became known as "Bloody Mary." Some of those who perished in the flames were men of prominence such as Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mary cherished a special grudge against him because he had helped Henry gain his divorce. Most of them were inhabitants of southeastern England, and this made their numbers seem relatively greater. The fiercer the persecution became the more determined became the resistance. Instead of people recanting in large numbers as Mary expected they would, the great majority of Protestants refused to change their beliefs when the government changed its laws. The people of England were not persuaded to accept Roman Catholicism — on the contrary, there was engraved upon their memories an undying hatred for everything connected with Rome. As Bishop Latimer said when they tied him to the stake in Oxford, "Be of good cheer Master

Ridley, we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." It never was. Soon afterwards Mary died, and with her death the persecution came to an end.

IV. Summary

The first period of the English Reformation began during the reign of Henry VIII. He put himself at the head of the movement of reform that swept over England in the sixteenth century. Under his leadership the movement separated the English church from the church of Rome, but after his death it developed into extreme Protestantism. Then this extreme form was followed by a reaction under Mary that in turn went to the other extreme. At her death the first period came to a close, and when her sister Elizabeth ascended the throne a new period began in which the Reformation in England was reorganized and put upon a settled basis.

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CHAPTER VII

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

I. Causes
A. Piety and discontent
B. Reaction against Luther

At the opening of the sixteenth century there was a revival of religious interest in Europe. There was at the same time a widespread spirit of discontent, and because people were more pious they were more discontented with the corruption in the church. When Luther made his protest against indulgences, a large section of this discontent grouped itself about him and in a few years separated itself from the church, asserting that the only way to have a pure church was to start all over again. There were many dissatisfied people, however, who felt that a separation from the church was going too far, and that many of the things Luther did were just as revolting as the evils in the church. Yet these people who opposed separation also wanted reform, and they were particularly anxious to purify the church in order to remove all ground for the accusations of the Protestants. Consequently they started a movement of change within the established forms of religion. This movement was called the Catholic Reformation. It has sometimes been called the Counter-Reformation, but that name is misleading, because it implies that the purpose was to oppose reform, whereas its aim was to bring about reform. It is best understood as a part of the general movement for religious reform that swept over Europe in the sixteenth century. As already stated, it had two main causes; the increase in piety and the reaction against the Protestant Reformation. Likewise its aims were to construct a purified religion and to suppress the heresies of the Protestants.

II. Jesuits
A. Loyola
1. Soldier May 21, 1521

When a French army invaded the northern part of Spain about the time of the Diet of Worms, 1521, there was only one fortress that offered them any resistance, and in the battle that ensued there was only one man who was wounded — the commander of the fortress. His leg was broken by a cannon ball, but it was a cannon ball marked by fate, for it changed a sinner into a saint and it gave to the Roman Catholic Church its greatest champion in the sixteenth century — Ignatius Loyola. That wound changed the whole course of his life. The leg was badly set and at the price of excruciating torture he had it set over again, but all in vain; he was crippled for life.

2. Religious Experience

Up to that time his ambition had been to be a great soldier, but now that was impossible. As he lay upon his bed during the long period of convalescence, he read. He asked for books about the knights of old, but no tales of their adventures were at hand, so he read the lives of the saints. In their lives he found an even greater adventurous appeal. He was fired with an ambition to be a saint. He passed through a purifying religious experience in which he scourged himself, saw hundreds of visions and came forth with one conviction — to be a crusader against the enemies of the church. Placing his arms upon the altar he dedicated them to the Virgin and set forth on a crusade against the Mohammedans. But the authorities at Jerusalem found him a nuisance and sent him home. When he tried to hold meetings in Spain, the Inquisition also found him a nuisance, imprisoned him and forced him to leave Spain. So he went to Paris to complete his meager education, and there again mankind failed to see the diamond in the rough, for he was publicly whipped at the College of Montaigu as a dangerous fanatic. Had the professors only known it, they had just trained a "fanatic" far more dangerous to them — John Calvin.

3. Education

4. Disciples
Aug. 15, 1534

At Paris Loyola gathered around him a group of disciples, set them on fire with the spark of his enthusiasm, and bound them together with solemn vows. Finally they started for Jerusalem, but they were stopped at Venice by the war and went to Rome instead. It was a time when several new religious orders were being founded, and after some delay they too were given the pope's blessing and the permission to organize a new order called the Society of Jesus. Strange to say, it was John Calvin who gave them in derision their best known name — the Jesuits.

B. Papal Sanction, Sept. 27, 1540

C. Constitution

1. Qualifications of members

2. *Spiritual Exercises*, 1548

3. Grades of members

4. The general

5. Military efficiency

Loyola spent the rest of his life composing the intricate constitution of his order. Only persons of good reputation and attractive appearance were accepted as members, and no cripple was admitted to this society founded by a cripple. The new member was required to study diligently a manual of devotions written by the founder called the *Spiritual Exercises*. It was the product of his own religious experience. Loyola had found that the contemplation of worldly ambitions left him dissatisfied and unhappy, while the contemplation of spiritual ideals gave him a feeling of peace. So he devised a skillful series of physical and mental exercises to stimulate the spiritual imagination and produce a state of submission to God. The members of the order were divided into a complicated set of grades meant to test each man thoroughly. The highest grade took, in addition to the triple monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, a special vow of blind obedience to the pope. At the head of the society was a general, who in practice had absolute authority, though in theory there was an elaborate series of checks upon his power. He was elected for life, and the first to hold the office was, of course, Loyola. The whole organization was planned to produce a military type of efficiency — the members were not required to live in a monastery, they might wear secular dress, and all through the order were spies to report the least sign of disobedience.

D. Work

1. Education

2. Confessional

The Jesuits rapidly increased in numbers from the very start, and in a few years their efficient organization began to show results. Their main purpose soon developed into the extirpation of heresy, and in achieving it they were particularly successful in four fields. First, in education they became the equals of any teachers in Europe. In all grades, from the lowest to the highest, they strove to develop the best methods of instruction, for they realized that by education they could capture the rising generation. Thus in the end they would gain more than by wasting their efforts on the adult generation who were already lost. They were not ashamed to learn lessons in educational methods from the Protestants, and showed it by adopting the use of the catechism. Second, they used the confessional with telling effect. One of the many privileges given them by the pope was the right to forgive sins anywhere, and they gained great popularity by being particularly lenient with the sinners who came to them. Skillfully they managed to be made the confessors of rulers; thus they gained their confidence, and often dictated their policies. 3. Preaching Third, they emphasized preaching, and thus they appealed to the masses. People were especially glad to listen to them for they collected no offering.

4. Missions Fourth, they became the most persevering missionaries of the sixteenth century. Not only did they penetrate Protestant lands in Europe at the risk of their lives, but they went far across the seas to the East and the West. One of their greatest leaders in this work was Francis Xavier, who went to India, and after baptizing large numbers there continued on even as far as Japan. Unfortunately a great deal of their work was superficial and much of it was accomplished with the help of the sword. At times they were the advance guards of a cruel conquest, and tarnished the glorious record of the many heroes who braved the wilderness as messengers of the cross. Their missions in Asia were finally a failure, but in North and South America the influence of their work is still strong. As opponents of heresy the Jesuits were successful in central Europe, more than in France, where the Catholics bore an antipathy toward papal control. In England they were never able to accomplish much.

E. Decline Like all religious orders, and for the same reasons, the Jesuits suffered a decline. Living in the luxurious courts of princes they could not fail to acquire the same worldly ambitions. Luxury, greed, and especially political activities so corrupted them that they were banned successively from all the countries 1773 of Europe and finally abolished by the pope. However, the order was revived about forty years later 1814 and today again extends all over the world with thousands of members.

III. Papacy The Catholic Reformation not only produced Loyola and the Jesuits but it also reformed the head of the church, the papacy itself. A. Adrian VI (1522–1523) The change began with the election of Adrian VI, the candidate of Charles V, and a man imbued with the spirit of Catholic reform. He demanded two things; on the one hand that the crying abuses in the church should be abolished and on the other that heresy must be suppressed. But Adrian was a sour Dutchman. The Italian cardinals who elected him soon regretted having taken such an unsavory pill, and they made his life miserable during the few months that he reigned.

(1523–1534)

During the pontificate of Adrian's successor, Clement VII, the papacy temporarily relapsed into its former state of corruption, but the next pope, Paul III, once more adopted a policy of reform. The cardinals elected him because he was in bad health, and it was expected that he would die soon and make way for somebody else. Instead he lived for one of the longest reigns in the sixteenth century. At the very start he appointed four cardinals who were all leaders in the Catholic Reformation. He established a commission that reported on abuses in the church, and he organized the offensive against heresy.

B. Paul III (1534–1549)

C. Changes

After Paul III there were a few popes of questionable character, but the trend was toward reform. On the whole there were certain definite changes that took place in the nature of the papacy, that made it a different institution before the end of the century. Nepotism, the practice of bestowing offices upon the popes' children and relatives, became a thing of the past. Efficiency was introduced into the administration, and officials were chosen for ability, not by favor. Spiritual interests began to dominate papal policy, and the popes no longer attempted to compete in the political sphere for territory and civil control. A definite offensive was organized against the Protestants instead of ignoring the schism or weakly allowing it to take its course.

1. Nepotism abolished

2. Efficiency

3. Spiritual interests

4. Offensive against heresy

IV. Inquisition

A. Definition

In the attack upon heresy the leaders of the Catholic Reformation revived and reorganized the Inquisition, a special court established in the Middle Ages to try heretics and other religious offenders. It developed a mode of procedure that made it the most ruthless court of an age when justice knew little of mercy. The accused was not told the charge against him nor the name of the accuser. It was assumed that he was guilty, and every effort was made to make him incriminate himself, if possible by a confession. The most common means used to extort a confession was torture, and it was applied to

B. Mode of procedure

all classes regardless of age, sex or condition. Suspected persons would be kept in prison for interminable periods, spied upon, harassed with questions, and worried until their spirit was so completely broken that they would confess anything. The inquisitors delayed proceedings until delay became a punishment. After conviction various punishments might be inflicted. Seldom did a person once caught in the clutches of the Inquisition escape punishment, and usually it was brutally severe. Thousands were burned at the stake, and all they gained by a confession was the privilege of being strangled before the flames swept up around them. In this the Inquisition did not differ from other courts of the time except that it was more efficient and more active.

C. Branches

At different times and in different countries there were several branches of the Inquisition, of which the most famous was the Spanish Inquisition established during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was particularly barbarous, and was directed at first against the Jews who had been converted to Christianity and then relapsed into Judaism. Later it turned its weapons against the Moors until both races were practically exterminated. So powerful was it that it even ignored the commands of the pope. It never convicted many Protestants for the simple reason that there were not many Protestants in Spain. The Reformation failed to gain even a foothold in the peninsula; partly because the church was thoroughly purged of all abuses by Cardinal Ximenes, partly because the rulers formed an alliance with the papacy, and partly because the Inquisition stamped out all symptoms of heresy before it had a chance to spread. Another branch of the Inquisition was the Roman Inquisition revived by Paul III. It was intended to be universal, but in reality it never extended far beyond the borders of Italy. There, however, it fully accomplished its purpose, and helped to keep Italy among the countries where the Protestant Reformation never became a powerful movement. There were other reasons for the failure there of Protestantism. The Italians could never join in an attempt to overthrow the papacy because the papacy was Italy's greatest source of power. They might join in condemning the

1. Spanish
1478 ff.

2. Roman

wickedness of the popes and even in taking away their temporal power, but they were forced by circumstances to uphold the papacy as an institution. Besides, the Italians who did accept Protestant doctrines were such strong individualists that they were unable to unite on any common collection of beliefs. This weakened them, and most of them were killed or driven into exile. A third branch of the Inquisition was organized in the Netherlands, where it helped to keep the southern provinces within the church but failed to stamp out Protestantism in Holland.

3. Netherlands

V. Council of Trent, 1545–1563

A. Call

The Catholic Reformation culminated in the Council of Trent. From the very start Luther had demanded a council representing the whole church, for he felt sure that the majority of opinion in the church would uphold his demand for reform. Charles V also urged the pope to call a council, for he too wanted a reform and hoped that a council would reach a compromise on religion which would heal the division in the Empire. The pope, however, looked askance at the proposal, for it was only a century since the papacy with much difficulty had won a hard-fought battle over the theory that a council was superior to the pope. He had no desire to fight the battle over again, because this time the papacy might lose. Finally Paul III consented to call a council, for it was evident that the church could be saved in no other way, but he took good care before it met to be sure that the papacy would control it. The emperor insisted that it meet in a town within the Empire, so Paul chose Trent, a city just within the boundary and also on the Italian side of the Alps. The legates of the pope were appointed the presidents, with complete control of submitting any subject for discussion. The vote was given only to bishops and heads of orders, most of whom were Italians.

B. Sessions, 1545–57, 1551–52, 1562–63

C. Procedure

The Council of Trent met in three sessions, the first beginning in 1545 and the last ending in 1563. At the start certain decisions were made that increased the pope's control. The vote was taken individually, not by nations; the subjects of doctrine and discipline were discussed alternately; and the Jesuits, his faithful agents, were alone allowed to preach in the town. Though the Protestants refused to attend a council in which they were given not the slightest chance for a fair decision, there was a strong pro-Protestant party that demanded such changes as clerical marriage and the cup for the laity. After some vigorous discussion the radicals were overcome, and the council ended in a complete triumph for the pope and the medieval church.

D. Canons

The decisions were called the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. The canons were the decisions on doctrine and upheld all the traditional beliefs held by the church until that time. Almost the only dogmas included in this restatement were those which the Protestants had attacked, and along with the restatement there was given an explicit condemnation of the Protestant beliefs. Consequently by reading the canons of Trent a fairly good summary of Protestant theology may be acquired. One of the chief Protestant contentions had been that the authority used in deciding what was true in religion should be the Bible alone and not tradition; that is, the mass of customs, papal decisions, and conciliar decrees accumulated through the ages. The canons of Trent declared that both the Bible and tradition were the final source of authority, adding that the reliable Latin translation of the Bible was the one known as the Vulgate. Another prominent Protestant belief was Luther's doctrine that salvation was gained only by faith, and that nothing was gained by good works. The council said that salvation was gained both by faith and good works. As for the sacraments, which the Protestants reduced to two, the Tridentine (Trent) canons maintained the medieval belief in seven sacraments and their efficacy for salvation.

E. Decrees

The decrees of Trent were concerned with matters of government and discipline, and in this respect most of the abuses condemned by the Reformation were provided with a remedy. Much had been learned from the Protestants both about the disease and the cure. For example, clergymen were ordered to reside in their districts and to instruct the people diligently in the truths of religion by preaching and other means. The use of the vernacular — the common language — was permitted on certain occasions. Seminaries were ordered established in every diocese for the training of priests, and a catechism was composed to be used in instructing the laity in true beliefs. A breviary — manual of daily prayers — was written corresponding to the Book of Common Prayer in England and the various manuals of prayers drawn up by the Protestants in other countries. In spite of all these achievements there were many well-informed persons who regarded the Council of Trent as a failure, and there were some countries that for a time refused to accept its decrees. But time has proved that its work was of the utmost importance. Its canons and decrees still continue the authoritative standards of the Roman Catholic Church, and no council has since been held that can compare with it in achievements. For an assembly of scholars to agree on a system of belief and then have it accepted by all Catholics was little short of miraculous.

VI. Index

A. Definition

One last feature of the Catholic Reformation was the Index. The Index was a list of books that were considered dangerous to read because they contained false teachings. It was the product of a long growth that began when the invention of the printing press and the great increase in the number of books made it evident that something must be done to keep undesirable literature out of the hands of the people. The myriads of books published by the Protestants made it still more clear that the printing press must be throttled, and the University of Louvain drew up at the emperor's command a list of prohibited books. However, it was no simple matter to discover and list all the works that attacked the church, and after the Index of Louvain several other indices were drawn up by various authorities. The first to be called " Index " was the one by Paul IV. 1559

B. Growth

C. Tridentine Index

The Council of Trent regarded all these attempts as unsatisfactory and overhauled the whole undertaking in a thoroughgoing manner. It not only published a comprehensive list called the Tridentine Index, 1564 but it also provided that books approved by the church should be given a license called the *imprimatur*, so that good Catholics could be sure that a book was fit to read. The *imprimatur* was placed on the back of the title page. Later the pope appointed a special 1571 commission called the Congregation of the Index to revise the list of prohibited works. The effect of the Index, like that of all attempts at censorship, was questionable. Though it was responsible for the destruction of many copies of forbidden books, nobody can say with accuracy either how much harm it has done, or how much good it has accomplished.

VII. Results

The results of the Catholic Reformation are best appreciated when the movement is viewed as a whole, and not when the Index, or the Inquisition, or the other parts are considered separately. One evident result was the check of the first advance of the Protestant Reformation. The Protestants at first caught the church in bad condition and hopelessly unprepared for the gigantic struggle. Until 1540 they cut off country after country with hardly any effective opposition. Then there came a change. First the church began to hold its own and then it even regained some of the lost territory. After the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism acquired almost no new territory except in the Netherlands. Besides, the countries which Protestantism had never seriously invaded were saved, and remained the strong Catholic states of Europe — Spain, Italy, and Austria. A second important result of the Catholic Reformation was the creation of a new Roman Catholic Church. Though the framework of the medieval church was kept intact, it was filled with a new and stronger construction. Many of the contributions of Protestantism to religious life were adopted; such as, the creed, the catechism, the book of prayers and an emphasis on education. A new standard of morality was established, and the administration of the church was put on a far more efficient basis. Third, the schism of the church was made permanent. All chance of compromise between Catholics and Protestants was completely destroyed, and the age of a universal church that was really universal was ended. Finally, Catholic opinion was unified. Though there were still parties within the church, and sometimes bitter strife between them, Catholics could tell definitely what was the general belief on all important subjects. Religious practices were made uniform by the greater centralization of the church. While the Protestants were divided into many sects, each with its own

A. Check of the Protestant Reformation

B. New Roman Catholic Church

C. Schism made permanent

D. Catholic unity

government and its own creed, the Catholics had one creed and one head. In the coming struggle Rome had the advantage of unity.

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CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH

I. Personality

1559

A. Despotic

B. Patriotic

C. Deceptive

D. Non-partisan in religion

Elizabeth Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, came to the throne of England at the age of thirty-six. She was a woman with red hair, a fiery temper and a puzzling personality. Out of her many conflicting characteristics there were four that dominated her life. She was despotic like her father and all the Tudors. Those who disobeyed her usually regretted their boldness, and even her favorites had good reason to fear the scaffold. She was also patriotic. While she ruled England with an iron hand, she was passionately devoted to the welfare of her country. Above everything else she aimed to make England strong, prosperous and safe. Deceptiveness was another of Elizabeth's characteristics. She lied persistently and consistently. It was her chief claim to recognition as one of the greatest diplomats in history, and far more effective than the swords wielded by the stronger sex. Finally, she was non-partisan in religion. As a queen she took part in the bitter religious conflict that raged around her, but as an individual she was unmoved by religious passions. It is doubtful if she had any sincere convictions about religion, and it was well she did not, for thus she was better fitted to be a ruler over all the parties in England, than if she had taken sides with one and tried to exterminate the others.

II. Ministers

A. Cecil

One reason why Elizabeth was one of the greatest queens England has ever known is because she was assisted by two highly capable ministers. Her chief minister was William Cecil (Lord Burghley), a trimmer so expert that after serving under Henry VIII, Somerset, and Northumberland he lived safely through the reign of Mary. It was just that sort of a fox that Elizabeth needed to guide her diplomacy, for he was able by cautious craft to travel a path where a demonstration of force would have been ruinous. Her other great minister was

B. Walsingham

Sir Francis Walsingham, whose chief claim to fame was the skillfulness with which he organized the secret service. With uncanny accuracy he discovered and foiled the plots against his sovereign's life that menaced her constantly.

III. Religious policy

A. Elizabethan Settlement

1. Act of Supremacy, 1559

2. Act of Uniformity, 1559

3. Thirty-nine Articles, 1563

The chief problem that faced Elizabeth upon her accession was to find some compromise on religion that would suit the majority of Englishmen and still be acceptable to the extreme Protestants and the extreme Catholics. This she attempted to do in a series of acts known as the Elizabethan Settlement. The first was the Act of Supremacy, 1559, which declared that the crown was the supreme governor on earth of the Church of England. Thus again the Anglican church was separated from the Roman Catholic. The title "supreme governor" was used to avoid the criticisms of those who said only Christ was the supreme head. The Act also explained that the powers of the crown were only administrative, such as the appointment of officers, and not spiritual, such as the conducting of services. Otherwise the episcopal form of government used by the Catholic church was retained. The second act was the Act of Uniformity requiring all clergymen to use the Book of Common Prayer, now revised so as to leave out some of the bitterest anti-Catholic statements. This gave the Anglican church a form of worship. The third part of the Elizabethan Settlement was the Thirty-nine Articles, a new edition in shorter form of the Forty-two Articles of Edward. This provided a statement of doctrine and completed the constitution of the Church of England, or, as it was sometimes called, the Established Church. In doctrine it was decidedly Protestant, but in form of government and worship it was a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism that suited the majority of the English people.

B. Religious Parties

1. Anglicans

2. Puritans

However, the standard established by the Elizabethan Settlement was not acceptable to everybody, and the English people divided into religious parties whose differences must be understood in order to comprehend English history. The first party was composed of Anglicans. They accepted the Settlement and belonged to the Established Church. The second party was called Puritans. They were members of the Anglican church who thought that the Elizabethan Settlement did not go far enough on the path of reform. They demanded still further changes, mainly of three kinds. In doctrine they wanted a purer Calvinism than that expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles. In liturgy they wanted everything eliminated from the Book of Prayer which was in any way connected with the Catholic beliefs that they regarded as superstitious. For example, they objected to kneeling at communion because it reminded people of the belief that the wafer was actually Christ himself. In government they wanted the Calvinistic system of presbyterianism instead of episcopacy. Still a third party was known as the Separatists, because they were convinced that the Established Church was in such bad condition that it was useless to try to repair it, and the best policy was to break away and organize a new church. In theology and liturgy they agreed with the Puritans. In government they advocated a system called independency or congregationalism, because each congregation was independent to manage its own affairs. Sometimes the names Non-conformists and Dissenters were applied to either Puritans or Separatists, indicating that they did not fully accept the Elizabethan Settlement.

3. Separatists

4. Catholics

The Catholics formed a fourth party which naturally refused to accept the new form of religion. As the influence of the Catholic Reformation made itself felt, their resistance, though that of a minority, grew so strong that such a thing as converting them became almost impossible. For a time after Elizabeth's accession she avoided trouble by visiting only light penalties upon them, if any at all. It was the Catholics themselves who forced her to become more and more intolerant. An insurrection broke out in the north and of course had to be severely punished. This angered the pope and finally convinced him that something must be done, so he excommunicated Elizabeth and forbade all Catholics to obey her. They were forced to choose between pope and queen, and naturally many of them chose to obey the pope. There were more plots, always failures, followed by more persecution. Even the powerful Duke of Norfolk lost his head for treason. The severity of the struggle increased when the Jesuits took a hand in the fight,

a. Leniency

b. Insurrection, 1569

c. Excommunication of Elizabeth, February 25, 1570

d. Persecution

e. Jesuits

sent missionaries to England, trained Englishmen in seminaries across the Channel, published a Catholic version of the English Bible, and even tried to assassinate Elizabeth. They showed the highest courage, and were executed by scores, but they failed to accomplish anything except to make the persecution even more relentless. A special court for trying religious offenses, called the Court of High Commission, was revived. By using inquisitorial methods it did much to clear the land of both Catholics and Separatists. Special laws, called recusancy laws, were passed against all who did not conform to the Elizabethan Settlement, and toward the end of Elizabeth's reign the persecution of Non-conformists was as severe as ever the persecution of Protestants was under Mary.

1582, ff.

f. Court of High Commission

g. Recusancy laws

Elizabeth's religious policy was closely connected with her foreign policy. In her relations with foreign countries the queen faced several perplexing problems. For one thing her questionable birth made her title to the throne weak. Besides, she was forced by circumstances to be a Protestant. One circumstance was the fact that the Catholics claimed that her birth was illegitimate, and if she had joined them she would have been forced to admit it. Any such admission would have weakened her claim to the throne so seriously that she would probably have been deposed. Consequently she had to be a Protestant and that meant conflict with both the great Catholic powers of France and Spain. If she made an alliance with one it was sure to involve war with the other. Another difficulty was the weak condition of England; bankrupt, defeated in war, and rent by religious strife.

IV. Foreign policy

A. Problems

To meet these difficulties Elizabeth developed a clever foreign policy by which she succeeded in keeping herself on the throne and maintaining the independence of England. Fortunately for her France and Spain were deadly rivals and she was able to play one against the other. She dangled before each the tempting bait of a possible alliance, and by delay, false promises and shrewd excuses managed to keep England out of open conflict with either. In this game of tortuous diplomacy the queen made profit of the fact that she was unmarried, and led both France and Spain to believe that they might gain a marriage

B. General policy

alliance with her. As a matter of fact, she never married, nobody knows why, but evidently for diplomatic reasons. Elizabeth was one of the few sovereigns in the world's history who have realized the value of peace, and, though war was finally inevitable, she postponed it as long as possible.

C. Scotland

One of the chief problems in Elizabeth's foreign relations was Scotland. Scotland had been for centuries an enemy of England and consequently a natural ally of France. Soon after Elizabeth came to the throne a Scotch rebellion broke out. It was caused by an attempt to establish Protestantism and to drive from Scotland the French troops who occupied the country. The rebels appealed to Elizabeth for support, and though her assistance was cautiously given, it was sufficient to enable them to expel the French and establish a thoroughly Calvinistic church under the leadership of a fiery reformer named John Knox.

1. Rebellion, 1559

1560

The sovereign of the country at the time was a beautiful young girl named Mary Stuart. She had inherited the throne while still an infant, and during her minority the nation was governed by a regent. Meanwhile Mary was reared in France, the land of her mother. There she married Francis, the heir to the French throne, and when he became king she was queen of both Scotland and France. In addition to that she also laid claim to the throne of England, because her grandmother was Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. The Catholics held that her claim was better than Elizabeth's, since the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth's mother Anne Boleyn was not legal. At any rate, Mary was the next in line in case Elizabeth died. Unfortunately for Mary Stuart her young husband died soon after he came to the throne, and she was left a widow at the age of eighteen. The government of France fell into the hands of her rivals, so she returned to her native land, where she became known as Mary, Queen of Scots.

2. Mary Stuart

July, 1559

1560

1561

There she found herself sadly out of place, for she was French in all but name, she was a devoted Catholic in a land dominated by Calvinists, and she was gay while the Scotch were dour. For a time she balanced skillfully between the dangers on every hand, until she made the mistake of marrying her cousin, Lord

1565

Darnley. He was afflicted with jealous insanity and for the husband of such a charming and flirtatious young lady as Mary that was a mortal ailment. In a fit of rage he dragged one of her favorites from her presence and murdered him just outside the door. Outwardly Mary forgave him but secretly she thought only of revenge. Even the birth of a son, named James, a few months later failed to reconcile them. One night Darnley was murdered. Bothwell, one of Mary's lovers, was accused of the murder, and Mary was charged with being an accomplice. Though there was no proof of their guilt, public opinion was soon convinced of it when Bothwell abducted and married her. A rebellion broke out, James was declared king, and Mary was fortunate to escape to England. There she appealed to Elizabeth for help, but Elizabeth would not restore her till she renounced all claim to the English throne. On the other hand Elizabeth could not sanction her deposition, for that would establish a precedent that rebellious subjects might depose their monarch. So she put Mary in safe keeping and waited. For years the Scotch queen was imprisoned while plot after plot was formed to assassinate Elizabeth and put her upon the throne. Finally it was evident that the English queen would never be safe as long as Mary was alive, and so she was falsely accused of complicity in one of the plots and executed in 1587. The charge against her was treason, but her real crime was rivalry for the English crown and the lack of enough worldly wisdom to make it good.

1568

Feb. 8, 1587

D. Crisis

The execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 marked a crisis in Elizabeth's foreign policy. At the beginning of her reign, her strongest adversary, Philip II of Spain, had offered to marry her, probably not because he expected her to accept him, but rather because he hoped she would at least remain neutral while he grappled with his hereditary enemy France. Besides, he was not at all anxious to see Mary Stuart become queen of England with the possibility of forming an alliance with France. But as time went on the situation changed. Elizabeth became radically Protestant and was excommunicated by the pope. France became involved in a series of bitter civil wars that made her no longer dangerous to Spain. The Catholic Refor-

1560–1598

mation called upon all Catholic monarchs to unite in suppressing heresy, and Philip, who made his devotion to the Catholic church the first consideration in everything, formed an understanding with France to attack the Protestants. Openly he still maintained his pretense of friendliness for England, but secretly he engineered the plots to have Elizabeth assassinated and replaced by Mary, a Catholic. When Mary was executed, there was no longer anything to be gained by Elizabeth's death, for the heir to the throne was the Protestant James of Scotland, and so Philip was now forced to fight in the open.

E. War with Spain
1. Causes
a. English aid to Netherlands

There were plenty of causes for war between the two countries. Elizabeth too had been fighting secretly by aiding Philip's revolting subjects in the Netherlands. The aid she gave was never very great because she was not the kind to waste England's resources on other countries, but it helped. In addition to that she encouraged her subjects to attack Spanish colonies and commerce. England entered late into the exploration of the new world, and by that time Spain and Portugal had taken possession of all the territory. Nobody was allowed to trade with the Spanish colonies except Spain, but Captain Hawkins began to sell slaves to them, and Elizabeth collected a royalty on the traffic. Other English sailors deliberately attacked the Spanish galleons upon the high seas and plundered them. The most famous raid was made by Francis Drake who sailed into the unguarded Pacific, robbed the Spaniards till he had no more room for booty and continued on around the world to England. Elizabeth took a share of the spoils and rewarded him with knighthood. Then as Sir Francis Drake he attacked the port of Cadiz in a time of technical peace and burned all the ships he could.

b. Colonial and commercial rivalry

1562

c. Hostile acts

1577–1580

2. Great Armada
a. Preparation

He had good reason to burn the Spanish ships, for Philip was collecting a huge fleet called the Invincible Armada to invade England. In 1588 it set sail, planning to take on board the Spanish army in the Netherlands and then sweep down upon the English. In spite of the imposing size of the Spanish galleons, the army of men on their transports, and the confidence that made them call it the Invincible Armada, there were many facts unrecognized till later that gave the English

b. Weaknesses

c. Defeat

July 27, 1588

the advantage. Their ships rested lower in the water, were harder to hit, sailed much faster, and instead of grappling as the Spanish did, fought at long range with heavier guns. This gave the larger number of Spaniards no chance to exert its force. Besides, the English were commanded by hardy freebooters like Drake; the Spanish by soldiers with no experience in naval warfare. As the Armada lumbered slowly up the English Channel the English harassed it from all sides. When it anchored off Calais, the English sent fireships drifting in, and the huge galleons hastily weighed their anchors and made for the open sea. But there they were met by the thundering cannon of their enemies, and, as they scattered, a raging storm swept down upon them. The Armada fled in disorder; most of the ships beating their way clear around the British Isles, and only about a third of them ever returning to Spain after many months of disasters. To add to Philip's disappointment, the Catholics in England did not rise to support him but joined the Protestants.

d. Effects

The defeat of the Armada in 1588 was a crucial event in the history of Europe, for it was a sign of the times. It marked the decline of Spain. Never again was the country of Ferdinand and Isabella so powerful in relation to the rest of Europe as before 1588. It decided that henceforth Protestantism was safe in England, at least from military conquest. It also changed the situation within England. Until 1588 the country had been willing to submit to the tyranny of the Tudors in order to gain protection against foreign foes. Now when that protection was no longer so necessary the English grew restive under the strong hand of Elizabeth. Her popularity declined as her age increased, and only the prospect that she would die before long kept down a serious rebellion.

3. End

After 1588 the English continued their raids upon Spanish commerce, and English forces were sent to the Netherlands to aid Holland gain independence, but no general effort was made to wage war against Spain. It was unnecessary. England did not have the resources for that, and Elizabeth was too wise to waste her kingdom's wealth.

One of the most important aspects of Elizabeth's reign was

V. Social and Economic Reforms

the reform of social and economic conditions. She continued the premature effort of Somerset, even though nothing effective was done to stop enclosures. The medieval institutions for regulating social life, such as the manor, the gild, and the church, had broken down, and now under the Tudors the state began to replace them. Four reforms were of chief importance.

A. Currency

1560

The first of these was the reform of the currency. Previous rulers had increased their wealth by taking coins out of circulation, reminting them with a lower proportion of precious metal, and appropriating the difference for themselves. Of course the lowered value of the coins was quickly discovered, people would not give as much for them, and prices rose. This rise in prices was increased by the influx of large supplies of precious metals from America. At the same time the credit of the state fell. By Elizabeth's time the situation was serious, so she called in all the coins in circulation, gave their owners what was supposed to be their face value, and reminted them with the full content of precious metal that they claimed to contain. In the end the state made a profit on the transaction because national credit rose and money could be borrowed at lower rates.

B. Poor Law, 1601

Poverty presented one of the most serious social problems of the sixteenth century, and though Elizabeth did little to remove the fundamental causes of it, she passed a series of acts to alleviate it which were finally codified in the Poor Law of 1601. Its main features continued many years and were as follows: the parish was made the unit for relief of the poor; overseers were appointed in each parish to administer the laws; taxes, called poor rates, were levied on the inhabitants to provide money; a poorhouse was maintained for those unable to work; and work was provided for those who were strong enough. Of course poverty was not eliminated but only relieved by such measures, and it still continued to be one of England's major problems.

C. Labor

1563

Labor was also regulated by the state in an effort to bolster up the declining power of the gilds. A famous law was passed called the Statute of Apprentices, which provided, in brief, that the justices of the peace should regulate labor, determine the hours when men should work, fix the wages that should be paid, and compel idle persons to take employment. The law also regulated the terms of the contracts of apprentices and journeymen. The only thing new in the system which it constructed was the substitution of state enforcement for control by the gilds.

D. Trading companies

One of the greatest achievements of the Tudor period was the growth of trading companies. In the sixteenth century the number of English merchants engaged in foreign trade greatly increased. Usually they organized themselves into trading companies which in general had the following characteristic features. They were given a charter by the state, and the monopoly of trade with a certain district. In that district they might exercise extensive powers, sometimes almost as complete as those of a sovereign state. The crown aided them by excluding all foreigners from competing with them in England, and by making treaties with other nations giving them certain privileges of trade. With this protection the English trading companies flourished, and during the reign of Elizabeth large numbers of them were founded, among them two of the wealthiest the world has ever known, the Levant Company and the East India Company.

VI. Renaissance

During the Elizabethan Age the Renaissance reached its height in England. Shakespeare developed the drama to such a high level that he dimmed the glory of other dramatists of no mean ability, and Edmund Spenser wrote poetry better than any Englishman had ever written before, with the exception of Chaucer. One of the most noteworthy achievements of the period was the development of the English language to the point where it began to be used instead of Latin for scholarly works. Henceforth English, either prose or poetry, was no longer a barbaric tongue.

Elizabeth did well by England. She led in the construction of a national religion, the maintenance of national security, the healing of distress, the stimulation of commerce, and the development of literature. She found England a weak country and she built it into a strong nation. When she died she left it powerful.

March 24, 1603

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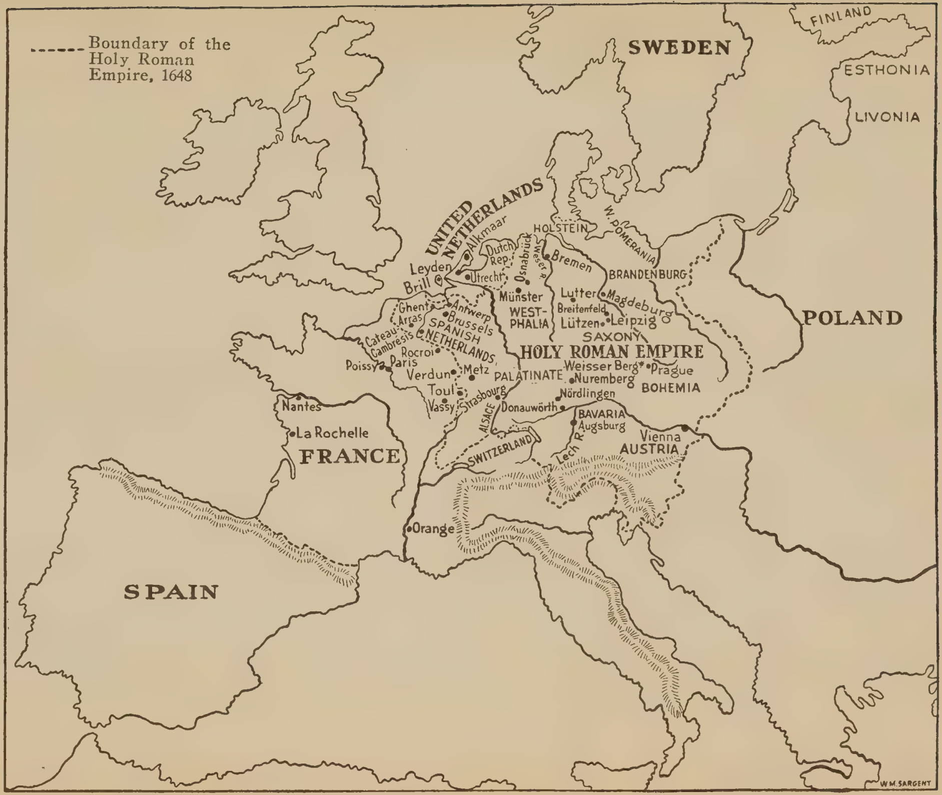

Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire, 1648
SWEDEN
FINLAND
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
POLAND
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Alkmaar
Dutch Rep.
Leyden
Brill
Utrecht
Osnabrück
Weser R.
HOLSTEIN
W. POMERANIA
Bremen
BRANDENBURG
Münster
WEST-PHALIA
Lutter
Magdeburg
Breitenfeld
Lützen
Leipzig
SAXONY
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Ghent
Arras
Antwerp
Brussels
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Cateau-Cambrésis
Rocroi
Poissy
Paris
Verdun
Metz
PALATINATE
Weisser Berg
Prague
Nuremberg
BOHEMIA
Toul
Vassy
Strasbourg
Nördlingen
Donauwörth
ALSACE
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Lech R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
Nantes
La Rochelle
FRANCE
Orange
SPAIN
W.M. SARGENT

THE WARS OF RELIGION

CHAPTER IX

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE

I. Introduction: the period of religious wars

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559, marked a turning-point in the wars of the sixteenth century. The wars before that time had been mainly wars of rivalry between France and Spain for the possession of Italy. The wars after 1559 were wars of religion. Of course, political and economic causes for war were in operation as always, but the contestants grouped themselves mainly according to religious lines, and the issues upon which they appealed for support were religious. At the beginning of the century the main question in religion had been whether there should be any reform. Now the question was whether the Protestant or Catholic type of reform should triumph. The two great types had become well-organized. They regarded themselves as mutually exclusive. Conflict was inevitable. In some cases the conflict was between nations, as between England and Spain — in others it was civil war, as in France.

II. Religious wars in the Netherlands
A. Causes
1. Growth of the Reformation

The first cause for the wars of religion in the Netherlands was the growth of the Reformation. Soon after Luther's Ninety-five Theses were published in 1517 his ideas spread in the Low Countries, and in a few years Lutherans were numerous. Anabaptism spread even more rapidly than Lutheranism and made thousands of converts, almost entirely among the lower classes. Since the Netherlands were the personal possession of Charles, he could act with far less restraint than in the Empire, and so it was not long before he began to persecute the Protestants vigorously. By means of the Inquisition, which he introduced, thousands of martyrs were burned, drowned and beheaded. Merely talking about the Bible was punished by death. However, Charles was wise enough to persecute only the lower classes and not to interfere with commerce, the chief source of the immense wealth of the country. About the middle of the century a new form of Protestantism invaded the land — Calvinism. More militant than Lutheranism and much better organized than Anabaptism, it appealed to the prosperous middle class. As elsewhere, it stimulated republican ideas because its own form of government was republican. So rapidly did Calvinism make converts that by 1559 it had a strong hold upon the country.

2. Tradition of self-government

1530

1555

A second cause for the religious wars was the conflict between the tradition of self-government and the encroachments made upon it after 1559. During the Middle Ages there grew up a large number of cities whose wealthy merchants and flourishing commerce were the envy of the rest of Europe. After many bitter struggles they wrested from their feudal lords extensive rights of self-government. Of these Brussels was chosen by Charles as his capital, and Antwerp was famous as the greatest port. The Netherlands were divided into seventeen provinces, each with its own historical traditions and large measure of control over local affairs. Technically, they were all a part of the Empire, but they had completely thrown off all vestiges of its jurisdiction except that they were still within its geographical boundaries. The emperor himself encouraged this separation and helped to build up a spirit of independence by establishing three central bodies to which the provinces sent representatives. The mere fact that Charles was a native of the Netherlands, born and reared there, made him interested in their welfare, and it was with real regret that he abdicated in favor of his son, Philip II of Spain. When the new ruler encroached upon the privileges of self-government, the natural result was protest and finally revolt.

3. Philip II

a. Powerful

The third cause for the revolt in the Netherlands was the policy of Philip II. During the first few years of his reign Philip was luck's favorite, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis made him beyond all question the most powerful monarch in Europe. He had triumphed over France in the long struggle for Italy; he ruled the richest countries, Spain and the Netherlands; and he was the acknowledged champion of the Catholic church. He had reason to feel all-powerful, but in the Netherlands he was doomed to meet defeat. One reason was his personality. Although he was industrious and conscientious, he was also inflexible in his purposes, and too stubborn to admit he was wrong. He was gloomy, cruel and thoroughly Spanish. To the inhabitants of the Netherlands he was a foreigner.

b. Policy

The policy which he adopted in ruling the country was decidedly unwise. Above everything else he was determined to stamp out heresy at any cost, even though he ruined the country. This purpose he made worse by vacillating between mild and extreme measures. In 1559 he left the country never to return, and governed it through regents to whom he gave no independent authority. Often he hampered them by giving his own orders too late. In various ways he showed that he intended to exploit the country for the benefit of Spain, as when he continued to quarter soldiers on the people after the war with France was over. The first of his regents was his half sister Margaret of Parma, but the real ruler was her councilor Granvelle. He aroused the opposition of the people by increasing the severity of the Inquisition and by an ecclesiastical reorganization that put the control of the church in the hands of the king. Before this time the only real protest had been from the persecuted classes, but now other classes were unnecessarily given cause for revolt. The nobles were affronted because Granvelle assumed so much power, the towns and provinces were alarmed by encroachments on their self-government, the nationalists were offended by subordination to Spain, and the merchants hated to see persecution injure their business.

4. William the Silent

The chief leader of the malcontents was William of Orange, the wealthiest and most powerful nobleman in the land. Strictly speaking he should have been called William of Nassau, for that was his family, but he inherited the independent territory of Orange in southern France, and like many another prince he made a pretense at sovereignty by taking his chief title from an independent land. He was an eloquent orator, but because he always spoke with caution and kept his secrets so well he gained the nickname of William the Silent. In religion he was born a Lutheran, became a Catholic, turned Lutheran again, and finally accepted Calvinism. This was because he adopted the religion that he thought was best for his country and advocated toleration of others. He was one of Charles' chief councilors, and also served under Philip until he was antagonized by the king's policy. Other nobles, chiefly the counts Egmont and Horn, joined him, and together they urged Philip to change his acts. Their demands were refused except that Granvelle was dismissed.

1564

B. Revolt

1. Beginning, 1565

The revolt began with the organization of a loose union by the lesser nobles. They submitted a petition to Margaret of Parma asking that the edicts of the king be moderated. The demonstration alarmed Margaret, but some of her advisers told her not to be afraid of those "beggars." When the nobles heard of the insult, they replied by adopting the name of "Beggars" and taking as their symbols the beggar's insignia of a wallet and a wooden bowl. A few months later iconoclastic riots — i.e. riots to break idols — broke out all over the country, in which the Protestants invaded the Catholic churches, broke images and destroyed anything else offensive to them. For weeks there was intense excitement. The most unfortunate part of the whole affair was that while the riots were at their height orders arrived just a little too late moderating Philip's former edicts.

April 5, 1566

Aug., 1566

2. Rule of Alva (1567–1573)

a. Harsh

When Philip heard of the iconoclastic riots, he decided that what the Netherlands needed was a stern policeman, so he removed Margaret and sent his best general, the Duke of Alva, with an army of Spaniards. The king failed to realize that he was dealing not with mere disorder, but with a nationalistic movement of the people. By sending Spanish soldiers he only increased the spirit of revolt, for he gave the people good cause to feel that in resisting the government they were fighting a foreign foe. Thus he made enemies where there had been none before. Besides, Alva made a good policeman but a poor pacifier.

b. Council of Blood

He established a special court, called the Council of Troubles, which tried not only heretics, but also anybody suspected of disloyalty. In a brief time it put so many people to death that it was given the well-earned name of the "Council of Blood." Even the great noblemen Egmont and Horn were executed. Such brutality instead of terrorizing the people only aroused a new and more powerful opposition by the great nobles. 1568 William the Silent fled to Germany and organized an army with which he invaded the country. But his raw mercenaries were no match for the seasoned veterans of Alva and they were easily scattered. Apparently the duke had crushed all opposition. Puffed up with overconfidence he adopted a policy that spelled his ruin. c. Taxes, 1569 In order to support his soldiers he levied some taxes familiar to him in Spain but new to the people of the Netherlands. The worst of these was a tax of ten per cent on all sales of movable property. The tax was so impossible to collect that it was soon abandoned, but it was the kind of tax that touched practically everybody in the country, and the mere threat aroused them all to resistance better than any agitation could have done.

d. Revolt There was a bitter protest, and on top of this protest armed resistance began. It became so fierce that it was more than even the genius of Alva could subdue. Dutch ships began to prey upon Spanish commerce, and some of these semi-pirates, 1572 taking the name of the Sea Beggars, captured the important stronghold of Brill on the seacoast. This success inspired other July 15, 1572 towns to rebel. The northern provinces revolted and chose William as their governor. He was neither a great general nor a superlative statesman, but he sacrificed everything to help a downtrodden people, and he possessed a spirit of determination 1572–1573 that fought on and on in spite of every handicap. Alva besieged and captured five of the rebellious cities one after one, but the terrible atrocities which he inflicted only made each resist more fiercely than the last, because they realized they had nothing to gain by yielding. Finally the city of 1573 Alkmaar proved invincible, and Alva at his own request was e. Recall recalled. He had butchered thousands of people, and driven vast numbers more to emigrate. Yet, when he left, the revolt was far worse than when he came, for the reason that he gave the people a reason for fighting.

3. Pacification of Ghent, 1576 The governor who followed Alva was quite unequal to the situation, and during his rule the city of Leyden after a long, bitter siege finally drove off the Spaniards. No longer were

the soldiers of Philip invincible. In fact, they greatly injured his cause when they mutinied and plundered the wealthy city of Antwerp with wanton destruction of thousands of lives as well as of much valuable property. 1576 The whole land was aroused. Representatives from all seventeen provinces met at Ghent and signed a treaty called the Pacification of Ghent, 1576, by which they demanded the withdrawal of the Spanish soldiers and the restoration of the ancient liberties. This marked the high-tide of revolt.

4. Division

a. Causes

The union effected by the Pacification of Ghent was not destined to endure, because there were too many causes of division in the country. First, the inhabitants were divided into three parts: the Dutch in the north, who spoke a German language and were traditionally a part of the Empire; the Walloons in the south, who used a French language; and the Flemings in between, who were connected by language with the Dutch but by historical tradition with the Walloons. Socially they were also divided, because the middle class predominated in the north while the nobility had the control in the south. The chief difference was in religion. Since the north was the first to rebel openly, and was able to maintain its independence at least partially, the Protestants fled there in large numbers and increased a population that was already predominantly Protestant. Likewise the Catholics tended to migrate to the south, and it was there that the Catholic Reformation gradually aroused a devotion to Catholicism as strong as the Protestant feeling in the northern provinces.

1578

b. Policy of Parma

c. Union of Arras, 1579

After the Pacification of Ghent, Philip appointed as governor one of the greatest diplomats and generals of the age, Alexander of Parma. Parma was quick to take advantage of the differences between the north and the south. He soon induced the southern provinces to sign the Union of Arras, 1579, by which they were assured their ancient rights in return for allegiance to Philip and a promise to protect Catholicism. Then by one siege after another Parma conquered the land between the south and the north. As each city yielded he took care to grant it easy terms, so that others would find it better to yield than resist. The northern provinces replied to the Union

d. Union of Utrecht, 1579

of Arras by making the Union of Utrecht, 1579, which bound them together in opposition to Spain and established a weak central government. Thus the Netherlands were divided into two parts; a division destined to endure down to the present day.

5. War for the independence of the Dutch Republic

a. Declaration of Independence, 1581

b. Assassination of William the Silent, July 10, 1584

The formation of the Union of Utrecht, 1579, ushered in a new period of the war in which the northern provinces fought for complete freedom. It was only a short time until they declared themselves independent and became known as the Dutch Republic, or United Provinces. Sometimes the new nation was called Holland because that was the name of the wealthiest province. A few years later their intrepid leader William the Silent was assassinated in his palace at Delft, but his loss had little effect beyond giving his enemies a cause for rejoicing. His work was done. He had aroused the spirit of resistance, encouraged the Dutch to fight on when all seemed hopeless, and finally established the Republic. For a time they missed his leadership and sought in vain for some foreign nobleman to accept the rule of their land. They even offered it to Elizabeth and to the King of France, but neither would accept it, and their assistance was really unnecessary, for other events favored the Dutch. Philip II turned his attention to two other undertakings which distracted him so much that the Dutch Republic had little to fear. One was the great expedition of the Invincible Armada, which Parma wisely condemned as a foolish undertaking. The other was the attempt to help the Catholics in France to win in the bitter civil wars raging there. In this case, also, Philip chose the losing side. Then the Dutch found two great leaders within their own country: John Oldenbarneveldt, the leader of the merchants, and Maurice of Orange, the son of William. Maurice proved to be a military genius, defeated the Spanish, and finally forced Philip III to make a truce for twelve years which practically acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic. The southern provinces became known as the Spanish Netherlands. Then the Dutch fell into strife between themselves. A new religious sect arose called the Remonstrants, because they remonstrated against Calvinism. Oldenbarne-

c. Philip II weakens

d. Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt

1609

veldt took the side of the new sect and Maurice joined the Calvinists. The Calvinists were victorious, Oldenbarneveldt was executed for treason, and Maurice became the practical ruler of the Republic, though he never assumed the title of king. The country prospered and in spite of its small size gained not only supremacy upon the sea but also financial leadership in Europe. May 13, 1619

III. Wars of Religion in France

A. Causes

1. Party-strife

The religious wars in France were caused chiefly by party strife in which religion was merely the most prominent of many points of conflict. The situation was complicated by the fact that there were not merely two parties but many parties. The same person might belong to more than one, and so fight first on the Catholic and then on the Protestant side. Two of the antagonistic parties were of course the Catholics and the Huguenots, the name given the French Protestants about the middle of the century. Two others were the parties of the family of Guise and of the family of Bourbon. The family of Guise controlled the government under the brief reign of Francis II but lost the control when he died. They were devoted to the Catholic church and the pope. The Bourbons, who were the strongest family next to the reigning dynasty of Valois, favored the Protestants. Still another division was that between the king on one side and the nobles on the other. The nobles had lost much of their feudal independence during the reign of the wily Louis XI but they still hoped to regain it.

2. Policy of Catherine de Medici, Dec. 2, 1560

A second cause of war was the policy of Catherine de Medici. Catherine was the wife of Henry II and became regent when Francis II died and her second son Charles IX became king. Her aim was to keep herself in power by keeping her sons upon the throne, and she planned to do this by encouraging the strife between the parties so they would fight each other instead of her. At the start she pretended to arrange a compromise between Catholics and Protestants by the Colloquy of Poissy, and when that failed she issued an edict of partial religious toleration. This alarmed the Catholics and made them resolve to fight. The result was the third cause of war

Sept., 1561

1562

3. Massacre of Vassy, March 1, 1562

— the Massacre of Vassy. As the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy he came upon a congregation of Protestants worshiping in a barn outside the walls. He ordered his soldiers to charge upon them and slaughter them in cold blood. Only a few escaped. The Protestants all over France rushed to arms in self-defense, and there began a series of civil wars destined to desolate and devastate the whole land.

B. Periods
1. Before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1562–1570)
a. Three wars

The wars of religion in France are best understood if divided into three periods. The first period consisted of three wars fought before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572. In this period the fighting was indecisive, for each side held its own. Most of the first leaders were killed, but the Huguenots gained the advantage because the war ended with a guarantee of partial toleration. Besides, Coligny, one of their leaders, gained the confidence of the king. He persuaded Charles to adopt a policy of peace. As the first step in this direction a marriage was arranged between Charles' sister Margaret, and Henry Bourbon of Navarre, the Protestant leader. The Huguenots flocked to Paris in large numbers for the wedding, but they were not received very cordially, because Paris was strongly Catholic and the wedding was unpopular with the Catholics. Besides, Catherine herself was afraid that Coligny was gaining too much power over the young king. A few days after the wedding an agent of the Duke of Guise attempted to assassinate Coligny, but only wounded him.

b. Coligny

c. Marriage of Henry of Navarre, Aug. 18, 1572

Aug. 22, 1572

d. Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 23–24, 1572

The next day after darkness had fallen Guise led a party to his house and shot him in his bed. A few hours later, as St. Bartholomew's day began to dawn, bells in the churches rang out. Mobs of excited Catholics filled the streets, rushed to the houses where the Huguenots were being entertained and massacred them by the hundreds. The streets were stained with blood and the river Seine was polluted with corpses. The news spread to other cities and they followed the example of Paris. For weeks the slaughter continued until thousands of Huguenots had perished. Henry of Navarre saved his life by becoming a Catholic. No doubt somebody was to blame, but historians have vainly attempted to say who. After all it made little difference who struck the match when the mine was laid, for whoever lighted it, it would have exploded just the same. France, and especially Paris, was a mine so heavily loaded with hate, ferocity, and fear that such an explosion as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was inevitable. Its most important results were a second period of civil war and a change in the policy of Catherine. She dropped her policy of toleration and henceforth sided unequivocally with the Catholics.

2. After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, (1572–1580)

a. *Politiques*

In the second period four wars were fought, in which the Huguenots regained all the strength they had lost by the massacre. The chief characteristic of this period was the formation of two new parties. One was the *Politiques,* a party of Catholics who advocated peace and objected to suppressing the Huguenots by force. They also condemned the interference of Spain on the side of the Catholics, for they saw that Spain was fomenting strife that devastated France to Spain's advantage. The other party was the Catholic League, headed by Guise, committed to the extermination of the Huguenots by the sword, and closely allied with Spain. The Huguenots found a leader in Henry of Navarre — a brilliant general, a gallant gentleman, and a devoted patriot. After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew he became a Protestant and also fell heir to the throne of France, because the reigning king, Henry III, had no children.

b. Catholic League

c. Henry of Navarre 1576 (1574–1589)

3. War of the Three Henries, 1585–1593

The third and last period of the civil wars was known as the War of the Three Henries because its chief figures were Henry III, Henry of Navarre and Henry of Guise. Its main purpose was an attempt by the League to keep Henry of Navarre from the throne because he was a Protestant. At first Henry III was under the control of Henry of Guise, but he soon grew discontented, assassinated Guise and fled from Paris to the camp of Navarre. There he was in turn assassinated, leaving Henry of Navarre the rightful king of France. But the League refused to recognize him. Though he defeated them in several brilliant battles and besieged Paris till hundreds died of starvation they still continued to fight. He was forced to raise the siege when Parma came with an army from the Netherlands. France was caught in a deadlock. It was evident

Dec. 23, 1588

Aug. 2, 1589

that nobody could be king but Henry, and that the whole country would never accept him as long as he remained a Protestant. So to give peace to the land he finally became a Catholic, was crowned Henry IV and founded the new dynasty of Bourbon. Whether he had any deep religious convictions or not, the success of his act in pacifying France proved that he did right. It made little difference in the welfare of the Huguenots, because finally they forced him to issue an edict of toleration.

July 25, 1593

1594

D. Edict of Nantes, April 13, 1598

This famous edict, known as the Edict of Nantes, 1598, granted to the Huguenots; (1) liberty of conscience, (2) liberty of worship under restrictions — mainly that they should not worship in districts inhabited predominantly by Catholics, (3) civil liberty, such as the right to hold public office, (4) the right to maintain an army of 25,000, and (5) the possession of 200 towns as fortresses. The edict was vainly declared to be irrevocable for within a hundred years it was repealed. It is best understood if viewed as an experiment by the sixteenth century to find a substitute for the medieval system of one church. The problem was to devise a way whereby more than one church, each claiming to have a "monopoly" on the truth, might exist in the same state. The Edict of Nantes tried to solve the problem by erecting a state within the state. It was an experiment destined to fail.

IV. Reign of Henry IV (1594–1610)

A. Economic recovery

B. War with Spain, 1595

1610

C. Ascendency of the Huguenots

The reign of Henry IV was marked by three main features. First, the finances and economic prosperity of the devastated country were remarkably restored by his able minister of finance, Sully. Second, under Henry the Bourbons revived the old rivalry with the Hapsburgs. Soon after his coronation he engaged in a war with Spain by which Philip II was forced to acknowledge his right to the throne. Then he wove a spider's web of diplomacy to gain allies for another war and was about to launch the attack when he was assassinated. For a time France was fortunately spared the terrific drain of a foreign war for which she was ill-prepared, but the Bourbons who followed Henry adopted his foreign policy, drenching Europe with the blood of dynastic struggles. The third feature of the reign of Henry was the ascendancy of the Huguenots.

The Edict of Nantes marked the height of their power. In the years that followed they declined in numbers, political interest and religious zeal. In spite of their triumph in the civil wars, France was destined to be predominantly Catholic, and even the toleration they gained was only temporary. As has happened so often in history war was not " a solution but an aggravation " of the complexity of the problems.

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CHAPTER X

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

I. Causes

In the Holy Roman Empire the period of civil and religious war came much later than in other countries, partly because the people dreaded the conflict and partly because it took longer for sufficient causes to accumulate. The first cause was the Peace of Augsburg, 1555. Like the Edict of Nantes, 1598, it was an experiment in attempting to adapt the state to the new situation of having more than one church within its boundaries. The experiment had several serious defects. For one thing it provided that no more land of the Roman Catholic Church should be confiscated by the states and that all taken since the preceding armistice should be returned. This provision was repeatedly violated, and since the Empire had no army with which to punish the offenders by a process of law, the only other remedy for the injured was war.

A. Peace of Augsburg

1. Provision on church lands violated

1552

Another defect was that each state was given the right to choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism, but after the peace was made the Calvinists increased rapidly in Germany and there was no arrangement made for them. This provision had another serious consequence because it recognized the principle that in religion each state of the Empire was practically independent. The states wanted to gain the same kind of autonomy in political affairs, and the only way to gain that privilege was by war. A fourth defect in the Peace of Augsburg was that it was essentially a Protestant victory, but in the years following 1555 the Catholic Reformation greatly increased the zeal of the Catholics. Naturally they were irritated by the restraints of a peace made by a previous generation and wanted to fight the war all over again. Emperor Rudolph II was one of those who refused to accept the Peace of Augsburg as final. He supported the Catholic Reformation

2. Calvinists not included

3. Increased desire of the states for independence

4. Catholic Reformation creates dissatisfaction

(1576–1612)

and, in the case of Donauwörth, even violated the terms of the Peace of Augsburg. It happened that Donauwörth was a free imperial city on the Danube which, by virtue of the peace, chose Lutheranism as its religion, but permitted Catholics to reside within its boundaries so long as they made no demonstrations. The result was a good deal of friction and finally a riot, when one day some monks organized a procession, and were stoned by the Protestants. To punish the city Rudolph authorized its powerful neighbor, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, to seize the town and force its inhabitants to become Catholics. This was a plain violation of the Peace of Augsburg, climaxing a series of violations and finally proving that it could no longer be guaranteed by law but only by force. 1606

B. Preparations for war

The second cause for religious war in the Empire was the preparations for the war which, after the Donauwörth episode, everybody of foresight perceived was inevitable. Some of the Protestant states formed a Union led by a Calvinist prince, Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate. The Catholics replied by organizing the Catholic League, led by Maximilian, the Duke of Bavaria and the natural enemy of Frederick because they were neighbors. Maximilian was a gifted ruler and lost no time in organizing an efficient army, as well as storing up money to finance the coming conflict.

1. Protestant Union, May 4, 1608

2. Catholic League, July 10, 1609

II. Periods

A. Bohemian, 1618–1623

The war finally broke out in 1618 and, because it lasted over a period of thirty years, became known as the Thirty Years' War. It was divided into four clearly marked periods, of which the first was called the Bohemian period because the first hostilities were in Bohemia. The King of Bohemia was an elected monarch, but since a Hapsburg had always been chosen for nearly a century, the family regarded the throne as their hereditary right. This created a difficult situation, because Bohemia had been a center of revolt against the papacy long before the Reformation, and during the movement had become predominantly Protestant. The first Hapsburg kings had been rather tolerant, but Rudolph, who was both emperor and king, wanted to make his subjects Catholics. They objected and forced him to grant them a charter of partial toleration. These privileges were violated by the next

1. Causes

1609

emperor; Protestants were persecuted, and two churches destroyed. The result was a riot in Prague, the capital. The emperor was defied and some of his officials thrown from a high window. The emperor died without having suppressed the revolt. Ferdinand II, who was elected emperor to succeed him, was a man of a different mold. He was a pupil of the Jesuits, small in body but big in determination. Before the Bohemian revolt he had been recognized as heir to their throne. Now the Bohemians broke the agreement and chose as their king Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate. The result was war.

May 23, 1618

1619

1617

2. Bohemian campaign

Ferdinand II had no imperial army, so he called upon Spain and the army of the League to help him. Frederick looked for aid to the Protestant Union and to his father-in-law, James I, King of England. But the Union went to pieces under the strain; James foolishly tried diplomacy with Spain and Frederick found himself deserted by the other Protestants of the Empire. The army of the League under Count Tilly advanced upon Prague and completely defeated Frederick at the battle of Weisser Berg (White Hill) just outside the city. Then Bohemia was subjugated; vast estates were confiscated and given to the followers of the emperor; and a religious campaign was begun that forced most of the people to become Catholics.

Nov. 8, 1620

3. Campaign in the Palatinate

After conquering Bohemia, Tilly and Maximilian carried the war into the Palatinate. With the help of Spanish troops from the Netherlands they completely occupied the territory, and Frederick was finally forced to give Maximilian both his title of elector and the part of his principality next to Bavaria called the Upper Palatinate.

1623

B. Danish period, 1625–1629

The Bohemian period of the Thirty Years' War was followed by the Danish period, in which King Christian of Denmark intervened. The fate of Frederick had alarmed other Protestant princes, of whom King Christian was one of the most powerful. He felt called to become the champion of Protestantism and was encouraged by a promise of Charles I of England to render financial aid. Besides, he was Duke of Holstein, one of the states of the Empire, and was interested

1. Causes for intervention

to oppose an increase in the power of the emperor. At first things went well, even though Charles never paid the subsidy he had promised. Then a new figure appeared on the field of battle — Wallenstein. Wallenstein was one of the nobles who had been enormously enriched by the gift of confiscated estates in Bohemia. He suggested to Ferdinand that he should have his own imperial army independent of the League and could finance it by enforced contributions from the territories through which it marched. The emperor gave him the authority to organize such an army, and Wallenstein soon gathered around him an army of adventurers from all nations. Protestants were as welcome as Catholics, and all were rewarded by the right to plunder. Wallenstein was a master of discipline and military tactics. After he joined Tilly they defeated Christian with little difficulty at the battle of Lutter, invaded Denmark and drove him to take refuge in the Danish islands, where his control of the sea protected him. Then Wallenstein loosed his dogs of war upon the Protestants of northern Germany and taught them as nothing else could have done that they must fight in self-defense.

2. Wallenstein

3. Defeat of Christian, Aug. 27, 1626

The Danish period closed when Ferdinand very wisely granted Christian easy terms of peace. Holstein and his Danish territories were returned to him upon the condition that he would withdraw from interference in German affairs. Unfortunately Ferdinand was not so wise in the rest of his settlement of the war. He issued an Edict of Restitution commanding the Protestants to restore all the church lands they had seized in violation of the Peace of Augsburg. To be sure, this was a strictly legal command, but much of the land concerned had been held for a long term of years and in some cases the inhabitants had become predominantly Protestant. Naturally they would not yield without a struggle, and so the Edict simply meant the continuance of the bloody conflict. It united the Protestants and it required an army to enforce it. Such being the case Ferdinand made another serious blunder by yielding to the demand that Wallenstein be dismissed. Probably the emperor was jealous of Wallenstein, and certainly the latter's devastation of the country was sufficient

4. Peace

5. Edict of Restitution, March 6, 1629

6. Dismissal of Wallenstein, 1630

cause for dismissal, but just then the emperor could hardly afford to do without his greatest general, for a new participant entered the conflict — the King of Sweden.

C. Swedish period, 1630–1635

1. Causes

a. To make Baltic a Swedish lake

b. To protect Protestants

2. Military tactics of Gustavus

With the intervention of Sweden there began a third period of the war known as the Swedish period. Under the rule of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden had embarked upon an ambitious plan of conquest to make the Baltic Sea a Swedish lake. First he took Finland and Esthonia from Russia, then he added Livonia from Poland. The next step was to gain possession of the Baltic shores of the Empire occupied by the emperor during the Danish period of the war. Sweden had been a strong Lutheran country for over a century, and Gustavus Adolphus had good reason to claim that while he invaded the Empire to take territory for Sweden he also came as a protector of the Protestants against the Catholics. Gustavus was undoubtedly the greatest military genius of his age, for he made important changes in military organization. He improved the musket so that it would fire faster; he increased the efficiency of artillery and made greater use of it; he was the first to adopt a uniform for all his soldiers; and he insisted upon a discipline so strict that plundering was absolutely forbidden in an age when plundering was the rule. He also used a new method of fighting a battle. Instead of massing his troops and depending upon superior numbers to push, or resist a push with the pike, he combined a mobile formation with the use of artillery.

3. Alliances

Jan., 1631

May, 1631

June, 1631

4. Defeat of Tilly Sept. 7, 1631

Gustavus' first problem upon landing in Germany was to secure allies. France quickly promised him large subsidies, but the Protestant princes were not so quick to join him, for they feared he might become a conqueror. While they hesitated, Magdeburg was taken by the troops of Tilly and burned to the ground with terrible atrocities. This helped the Lutherans to make up their minds, and they decided that it was better to join the Swedes than to be exterminated. Then Gustavus began military operations, and his superiority as a general quickly demonstrated itself when he met Tilly at Breitenfeld near Leipzig and decisively defeated him. By this one battle Protestantism was made safe in the Empire and the Swedish king marched all the way to the Rhine without opposition. It was a victory for a new age of military tactics as well as for the Protestants.

However, Gustavus Adolphus was not content with making Protestantism safe and the next year he undertook an offensive campaign against the Catholics. He invaded Bavaria and defeated Tilly in a battle on the river Lech in which the Catholic commander was mortally wounded. Then he occupied Munich and was ready to march upon the emperor's capital of Vienna. Ferdinand was forced to recall Wallenstein in order to save himself, and it was well for him that he did. For a time the two giants of strategy maneuvred around the city of Nuremberg for the best position. Then Wallenstein marched against Saxony and Gustavus followed him. At Lützen near Leipzig the Swedes attacked and won a great victory, but in the confusion of battle their king ventured too far into the lines of the enemy. He was wounded, and some Catholic soldiers, happening to find him lying upon the ground, shot him.

April, 1632

5. Struggle with Wallenstein

Nov. 16, 1632

After the battle of Lützen the Swedes continued to fight, but without their great leader they were unable to make a vigorous offensive. Wallenstein, who was always a slave to huge ambitions, began to entertain schemes of settling the war in his own way and initiated secret negotiations with the Protestants. His officers became suspicious and finally assassinated him. In spite of his loss the imperial forces decisively defeated the Swedes at Nördlingen and drove them out of southern Germany. Then the emperor made the Treaty of Prague with most of the states of the Empire, by which both sides made concessions. The emperor practically repealed the Edict of Restitution by agreeing that church lands should remain in the hands of those who held them a few years before, and the Protestants gave up many of their demands. The war should have ended then, for the members of the Empire had reached a compromise and the country was bled white by the fighting. Unfortunately it continued, because some parties were still dissatisfied and human greed was merciless. The Calvinists, for example, had not been ad-

6. Assassination of Wallenstein, Feb. 25, 1634

7. Defeat of Swedes, Sept. 5–6, 1634

8. Treaty of Prague, June 15, 1635

1627

mitted to the Peace of Augsburg. Foreign states intervened and kept the war going in order to gain territory for themselves. The Swedes continued to fight in the north, and in the west France now entered the war.

D. French period, 1635–1648

1. Rise of Richelieu

1610 France was ruled at this time by a man so influential in history that it is well worth while to turn aside to see who he was and what he did. This man was Cardinal Richelieu. When Henry IV was murdered he left behind him a son, Louis XIII, who was only nine years old. During his minority his mother, Marie de Medici, was made regent. Unfortunately she had none of the qualifications of a good ruler. She patronized a group of worthless favorites, managed the finances so badly that Sully resigned in disgust, squandered the hard-earned treasure of Henry IV in paying the nobles not to revolt, and finally tried to extricate herself from her difficulties 1614 by calling the Estates General. This was the medieval national assembly of representatives from the three estates — clergy, nobility and third estate. It had been called so seldom in the last two centuries that it was totally incompetent to deal with the situation and was dismissed never to meet again until 1789 the French Revolution. It accomplished just one thing — it brought to the front Richelieu. This young clergyman attracted the notice of the queen, was taken into her service and lost no time in showing her how to deal with the rebellious nobles. He imprisoned the leader and put three armies into the field to subdue the rest. He was finally rewarded for 1624 these achievements by being made a cardinal and given a place in the council. From that time on he was the real ruler of France, for Louis XIII was naturally indolent and preferred to solve all his problems by giving his minister complete authority. Small, thin and sickly though he was, Richelieu had a determination that was ruthlessly cruel and he ruled France with a rod of iron.

2. Richelieu's policy in France

a. Suppression of Huguenots

Richelieu desired law and order above everything else, and to maintain it he constructed the system of government that dominated France for the next century and a half. Consequently his work was extremely important. His first task was to complete the subjection of the Huguenots. The Edict of Nantes had made them almost independent of the government. Since then most of their fortresses had been taken away, and Richelieu completed the work by the long, bitter siege of La Rochelle, in which the city was finally taken. Then he 1628 issued an edict which confirmed to the Huguenots their privi- 1629 leges of liberty of conscience, liberty of worship and civil rights, but took away all power to oppose the state. The next task was to suppress the nobles. To do this Richelieu placed spies everywhere, uncovered plots, punished the conspirators ferociously, and made plots himself in turn. All fortified castles were ordered demolished, and though few were actually destroyed, all attempts to maintain them as fortresses against the king were ended. Dueling was forbidden, and two counts were actually hanged for violating the decree.

b. Suppression of nobles

c. Absolute monarchy

Then to climax his work Richelieu perfected a system of administration which was the most absolute monarchy Europe had known up to that time. At the top was the royal council which acted in the king's name and had complete authority to issue laws, make judicial decisions, levy taxes, declare war, and control all other activities of the state. The royal council was assisted by a number of other councils each at the head of a department of state. The whole kingdom was divided into districts called *intendancies,* and at the head of each was placed an *intendant* (i.e. superintendent) appointed by the king. These *intendants* were usually chosen from the members of the councils and were consequently trained in the theory that the king's power should be absolute. Most of them were taken from the middle class and so had everything to gain and nothing to lose by being faithful to the crown. They had complete judicial and financial power, and quickly usurped all the activities formerly exercised by the governors of the provinces. This was just what Richelieu wanted, for the governors were usually nobles and inclined to defy the king. Thus France was given a government that was absolutely controlled by the king. It provided the country with law and order, it protected the people from the evils of factionalism, but it cost a terrible price, for the people lost the ability to govern themselves. The worst feature of Richelieu's rule was his inability to master finances. When he died the revenue had been spent for three years ahead. Largely because he failed to combine a good financial system with the administration at the start, the régime of absolute monarchy never developed one. It was this defect more than any other that caused its final collapse.

d. Internal improvements

Another of Richelieu's failings was his lack of interest in public works and such economic problems as agriculture, yet he helped to establish two internal improvements that were of superlative importance. He founded the Academy of France to honor her scholars by electing them to membership, and he authorized the printing of the first newspaper — *The Gazette*. In fact both he and the king wrote for it, little thinking that one day the press would be the most powerful enemy of the system of absolute monarchy they were erecting.

3. French part in Thirty Years' War

a. Subsidies

After Richelieu had established law and order in France, his next undertaking was to humble the power of the old rival of the French kings — Spain. For a time he was satisfied to subsidize other fighters, such as Gustavus Adolphus, but after the Treaty of Prague left Austria practically supreme, he found it necessary to enter the Thirty Years' War actively. Austria had won chiefly by the help of Spain, and any ally of Spain was an enemy of France. In 1635 he declared war on Spain and thus began the French period of the war. Although France put an enormous army into the field, she was seriously defeated at first, and the Spanish armies even threatened to take Paris. But in the hour of distress the French responded to the call of their king, and by a brilliant campaign Alsace was taken. This was a serious blow to Spain, for since the Dutch had gained control of the sea the best route of communication between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands was through Italy, the Alps and Alsace. Then a Spanish army that attempted to invade France from the Netherlands was defeated in the decisive battle of Rocroi by Condé. It was a significant battle, not only because the Spanish were defeated, but also because Condé adopted the tactics of mobile fighting begun by Gustavus Adolphus. For the next fifty years the armies of

May 19, 1635

b. Defeat

c. Victory

1643

France were almost never defeated in the open field. This period of military supremacy was due not only to brilliant generals and great armies but also to the fact that the generals and the armies were backed by a superior type of state organized by Richelieu.

Dec. 4, 1642

d. Mazarin

May 14, 1643

Just before the battle of Rocroi Richelieu died and was followed by Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian by birth and a Frenchman by adoption. So well had he been trained by Richelieu that there was no change in policy. A few months later Louis XIII also passed away, and, since his son Louis XIV was only a child, the government remained in the hands of Mazarin for many years.

4. Condition of Germany

1643

1646–48

By this time the Thirty Years' War had brought Germany to a condition so frightful that it equaled the worst that could be imagined. Here, there and everywhere princes were fighting independently; armies plowed across the country leaving a swath of destruction in their wake, as if some huge steam roller had crushed everything in its path; battles were fought and cities were sacked to no end and to no purpose except the support of the soldiers who plundered them. Finally the diplomats of most of the countries of Europe met in Osnabrück and Münster, the chief towns of Westphalia, to make peace. Austria and Bavaria were still unwilling to yield completely. Thereupon Turenne, a general even greater than Condé, invaded Bavaria and laid it waste. As the armies fought, the diplomats bickered and watched the events on the battlefield as a gambler in stocks would watch the market reports. It was the first great European congress in which peace was made for Europe as a whole by an assembly of diplomats from the chief nations. They were inexperienced, but they finally constructed one of the greatest treaties in the history of the world — the Treaty of Westphalia.

III. Treaty of Westphalia, Oct. 27, 1648

A. Protestants

The Treaty of Westphalia was naturally a very complicated document after such a complicated war, so that it may most easily be understood by stating the gains of each of the most important parties. The Protestants in Germany gained two concessions: Calvinism was included in the religions which a prince might choose for his territory, and all church lands were to remain in the hands of those who held them on January 1, 1624. B. States of Empire The states of the Empire gained their desire for independence from the authority of the imperial government so completely that they were given full power to make alliances as they wished, to declare war, and to make peace. Henceforth the Holy Roman Empire was only a framework for a conglomeration of states practically independent. C. Bavaria Bavaria was allowed to keep the Upper Palatinate and the title of elector, but a new electorate was created and given to the Count Palatine along with the Lower Palatinate on the Rhine. D. France France was given various pieces of territory, of which the following were the most important. Metz, Toul and Verdun were separated from the Empire and became part of the territory of France. She was also given Alsace as a part of the Empire with a vote in the diet, but this did not include a few parts of Alsace, such as the free, imperial city of Strasbourg. E. Sweden Sweden was given various districts such as Western Pomerania and Bremen as part of the Empire; their chief importance being that they controlled the mouths of the most important rivers — the Oder on the Baltic and the Weser and Elbe emptying into the North Sea. F. Netherlands and Switzerland The United Netherlands and Switzerland were at last declared to be separated from the Empire, as they had long been in fact.

IV. Results A. Devastation The Thirty Years' War had a number of important results. Germany was so terribly devastated that it was a century before she recovered, at least in civilization. At last the religious question was settled in a way that prevented any further wars over religion. B. Weak imperial government The imperial government became too powerless after that to have any separate history. Its history was the history of the individual states, chiefly Austria and Brandenburg.

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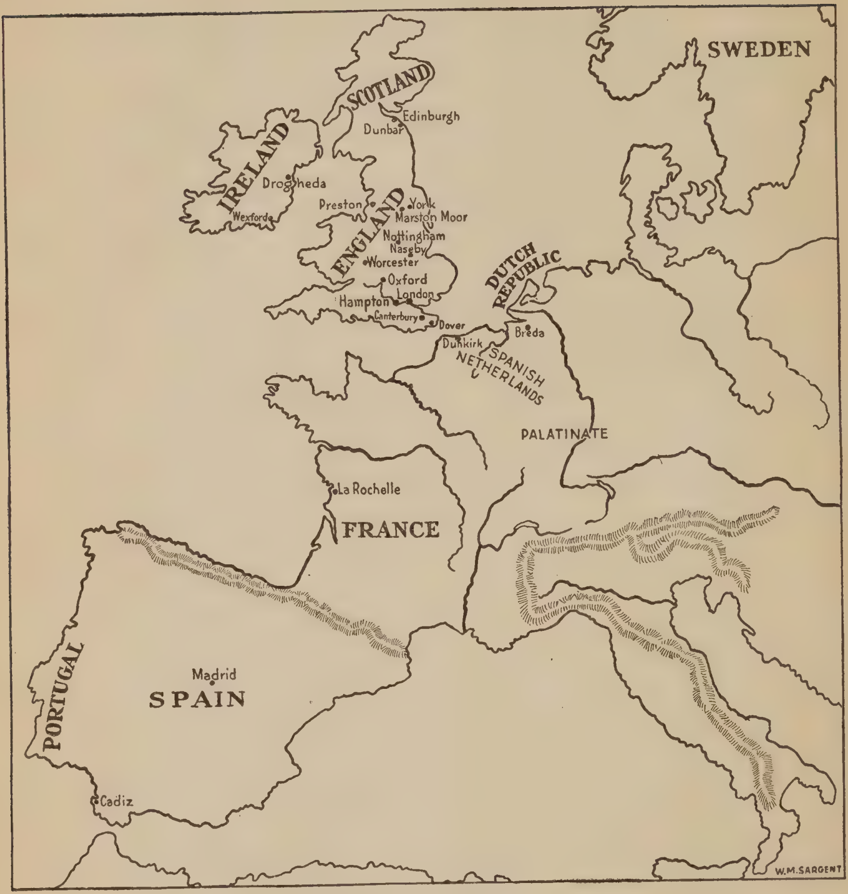
SWEDEN
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Dunbar
IRELAND
Drogheda
Wexford
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ENGLAND
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Worcester
Oxford
London
Hampton
Canterbury
Dover
DUTCH REPUBLIC
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PORTUGAL
Cadiz
W.M.SARGENT

STUART ENGLAND

CHAPTER XI

STUART ENGLAND (1603–1640)

I. James I (1603–1625)

A. Personality

1. "Wisest fool"

When Queen Elizabeth of England died in 1603, the Tudor dynasty came to an end, and the throne passed to the first of the Stuarts, James Stuart, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots. He had already reigned for a generation as James VI of Scotland and now in addition became James I of England. His personality was quite unsuited to his task, and Henry IV of France correctly called him the "wisest fool in Christendom." Like a wise man he was well educated, like a fool he was grossly sentimental and conceited. He was wise enough to coin clever phrases, but foolish enough to think that when a thing was well said, it was also well done.

2. Belief in divine right of kings

1603

One of the best examples of this peculiar combination of wisdom and foolishness was his theory of the divine right of kings. A century before him Machiavelli had advocated a despotism as the best form of government. James adopted the idea but wisely gave it religious sanction by proving it from the Bible, although he did not state that it was Machiavelli's theory. This new form of Machiavellianism he offered to the world in a book with the title "The True Law of Free Monarchies." The adjective "free" was significant, because in a later age democracy was to talk about the free people. In this book he advanced three fundamental principles of government. First, the king's authority comes from God because he is chosen by God and not by the consent of the people. Second, as a consequence the king is above the laws made for the rest of mankind, may even break them, and is responsible to God alone. Third, the king must be obeyed whether good or bad, because if he is good he is a blessing sent from God, and if bad he is a punishment to be humbly accepted. It was a cleverly constructed theory, but James was a fool to apply it in England at the opening of the seventeenth century. The people of England were in no mood to submit to such a theory. They had been waiting anxiously for the death of Elizabeth in order to regain a fully effective constitutional government. Through long centuries they had developed a parliamentary government founded upon the principles that parliament could choose the king in an emergency, that the king was subject to law, and that he could be deposed for misconduct. Now they wanted to reëstablish these principles in full force at the same time that James wanted to make the king absolute. The result was a series of conflicts between the two tendencies. Absolutism was rising. Constitutionalism was reviving. The question was whether one would eliminate the other or the two would coöperate.

B. Conflict with Puritans

1. Millenary Petition, April, 1603

The first conflict came between James and the Puritans. The Puritans drew up a statement of the reforms which they wished to have made in the church and called it the Millenary Petition, because it was supposed to have a thousand (*mille*) signatures. This petition they submitted to the new king as soon as he crossed the border. James answered it by calling the Hampton Court Conference at the palace of Hampton Court, just outside of London. There he refused all of their requests except one — a new translation of the Bible. It is one of history's practical jokes that it became known as the King James version and not the Puritan version. He was particularly offended by the demand that a presbyterian form of church government should be adopted. In Scotland he had passed through many bitter experiences with presbyterianism and regarded it as contradictory to his theory of divine right of kings. He said to the presbyterians in pointed language, "Presbyterianism and divine right monarchy agree together as well as God and the devil." The proper form of church government, he told them, was episcopacy, and he expressed his opinion in the slogan, "No bishop, no king." The result of this uncompromising attitude was not that the Puritans gave up their ideals, but on the contrary that they joined with the other discontented parties to gain them. Thus the name Puritan lost its strict meaning of a member within the Anglican church desiring

2. Hampton Court Conference, Jan., 1604

1611

3. Result

further reforms and came to mean anybody who opposed the attempt of the Stuarts to rule by the divine right of kings.

C. Gunpowder plot, 1605

After James antagonized the Puritans, his natural allies were the Catholics, but he foolishly alienated them as the result of an unfortunate episode. A group of Catholics laid a plot to blow up the king and parliament with gunpowder placed in the cellar of the parliamentary hall. The plot was discovered; England was horrified; severe edicts were passed against the Catholics; and for years the anniversary of the gunpowder plot was celebrated to keep alive hatred of the Catholic church. Later James moderated the persecution but he changed so often that the Catholics could never rely on him.

D. Conflict with parliament

1. The issue

James' most serious conflict was with parliament. Back in the later Middle Ages parliament had gained gradually certain powers and privileges. The most important of these were the right to make laws, the right to require their consent for all new taxes, freedom of debate, freedom from arrest, the right to regulate elections, and the right to advise the king on matters of policy. During the Tudor period parliament had gone through all the forms of exercising these rights, but in reality they had not been able to do anything without the consent of the crown. For example, during the reign of Elizabeth they had discussed plans for her marriage but had dropped the subject when she commanded them to do so. One reason why parliament submitted to this control was the need of a strong monarchy to protect the country. By 1603 that need was no longer felt and parliament was anxious to regain the power as well as the form of their rights.

2. Elections, 1604

3. Taxation, 1606

James failed to realize the situation and even planned to take away the exercise of the rights as well as the power. He started by attempting to control elections. Parliament objected that he was infringing upon their privileges, and he denied it, but let the matter drop. Then he cleverly levied a new tax, but by a legal technicality was able to prove in the courts that it was an old one. This was a clever trick but a foolish policy, for it antagonized parliament, and when he asked them for new taxes they took their revenge by refusing to grant them. Then he dismissed parliament and tried to get along by pseudo-taxes, such as forced loans, forced gifts called benevolences, fines and the collection of old debts. But these were a sorry substitute for real taxes, because James was an extravagant spender and the rise in prices had greatly decreased the real value of the king's revenues. The king was justified in demanding new taxes, because the old sources of revenue were inadequate and the medieval method of financing a state was quite out of date, but he was wrong in trying to make the change by force instead of compromise.

E. Conflict with the courts

Another conflict was with the courts. In this case James tried to put into practise his theory of divine right by claiming the power to interfere at any time in judicial proceedings to instruct the court and even dictate the decision in any case. The judges objected, but finally all of them yielded except Chief Justice Coke. Consequently, he was dismissed, and thus James exercised the right to dismiss judges not only for bad behavior, but even for resistance to the king's order. The king triumphed, yet time was to tell a different story, for Coke became the leader of a powerful party of opposition.

F. Conflict over foreign policy

1. Peace with Spain, 1604

The final conflict in James' reign was over his foreign policy. Soon after he came to the throne he made peace with Spain, the hereditary enemy of England. This in itself offended a large number of people, for it made it impossible for them to continue their piratical attacks upon Spanish commerce. James, however, didn't stop there. He pictured himself as a great peacemaker settling the religious strife of the world, and began by negotiating with Spain for an alliance. Of course the plan was foolish, because England was the leading Protestant power and Spain the leading Catholic power. However, the Spanish diplomats saw the Thirty Years' War approaching, so they cleverly planned to profit by the king's conceit. They encouraged James to think he might gain an alliance, and thus kept him from joining the Protestants. His son-in-law Frederick of the Palatinate was left without support and easily defeated.

2. Plans for Spanish alliance

Then James awoke from his dream and called parliament in order to get money to send an army to help the unfortunate

3. Plans for war with Spain

Frederick. Parliament was quite ready to vote money for a war, because popular feeling against Spain was high, but they had learned that James was a wild animal who must be put in a cage, and now was their chance to do it. After granting a small sum they demanded certain concessions which the king was forced to give them. James saw that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get the money necessary to carry on war, so he turned to diplomacy again. He was encouraged to think that his son Charles would be given the hand of the princess of Spain. Then parliament asserted their privilege of advising the king on matters of policy and requested that the Spanish marriage project be stopped. James was furious; he denied the right of parliament to discuss the matter; tore the record of their action from the journal; and sent the members home. Determined to marry his son as he pleased without regard to the wishes of the nation, he sent Charles and his favorite, the worthless Duke of Buckingham, to Madrid to get the princess. But by that time Frederick was completely defeated, Spain no longer needed to dupe the foolish English king, and Charles was not even allowed to see the princess. One day he jumped over the wall of her garden, but she ran away screaming, and he was forced to come home a jilted lover. From that day Charles was the leader of the anti-Spanish party in England, and it was not long before a marriage was arranged with Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France. James' foreign policy had not only made him the laughing-stock of Europe, but it had also aroused a spirit of opposition to the king in parliament. Soon afterwards the king died and bequeathed to his son a plentiful inheritance of ill will created by his unwillingness to compromise.

4. Spanish marriage project

5. French marriage

II. Charles I (1625–1649)

A. Personality

When Charles I came to the throne he was a popular prince, because he was the leader of the strong anti-Spanish party and in addition gifted with an attractive appearance. He was one of the most industrious and virtuous kings England had ever known. All these factors should have made his reign a happy and prosperous one had he not adopted a fatal policy. Not only did he continue his father's foolish attempt to apply the divine right of kings in the face of a growing desire for constitutional government, but he made it worse by refusing to yield tactfully when he faced the impossible. He would not listen to any kind of a compromise. More than that he had no scruples about breaking his promises to his subjects. He said it was because a divine right king was responsible to God alone, but other people said it was because he was a liar. It was not long before he lost his general popularity and his reign developed into a bitter struggle with parliament to decide whether England should be governed by a divine right king or parliament.

B. Struggle with parliament

1. First parliament, 1625

The struggle began with the first parliament. Charles, like his father, lived far beyond his income and in addition asked parliament to grant money for a war. But James had taught parliament not to be generous with kings, and they asked whom Charles was going to fight. He refused to tell, so parliament granted only a small amount and then demanded that the king dismiss his profligate favorite, the Duke of Buckingham. Charles refused, dismissed parliament instead, and sent a fleet to attack the Spanish port of Cadiz. The expedition was a complete failure, and another parliament was necessary to retrieve his losses.

2. Second parliament, 1626

The second parliament began by insisting that Buckingham be dismissed, for they well knew that if the corrupt duke was discarded they could then get rid of the other worthless ministers. Charles refused to desert the duke and dismissed parliament even though they voted some small grants. Then the king tried to regain control by a change in policy. To recover the support of the Protestants in England, he sent a fleet commanded by Buckingham to help the Huguenots in La Rochelle resist the attack of Richelieu. He hoped that a great victory would give him prestige and then he could force parliament to do his will. What he gained was a great disaster. He knew better than to call parliament then, for they would take advantage of his weak condition, but he had to have money, so he resorted to a policy of arbitrary taxation.

3. Arbitrary taxation

The chief form of arbitrary taxation which he employed was forced loans; that is, he compelled people to loan him money which he never intended to repay. When they resisted, he carried matters a step farther by using illegal means to force them to loan him money. Some were imprisoned without trial, others had soldiers quartered in their homes, others were brought before a court martial. One of the most famous cases was that of the Five Knights (Darnell's Case), who were imprisoned without trial and demanded a writ of *habeas corpus*. Such a writ would require the jailer to bring them before a court. The writ was refused. These unjust methods increased hostility and failed to bring in enough money, so that finally Charles was compelled to call parliament again.

4. Third parliament, 1628–29

The third parliament of Charles I was one of the most important in the history of England. The opposition to the king in the House of Commons was led by a group of famous and gifted leaders. One of them was Sir Edward Coke, the chief justice whom James had dismissed, and who championed the principle that the king was subject to law. Another was Thomas Wentworth, who said the king's ministers were to blame, and consequently was later rewarded by being made the king's chief minister and given the title Lord Strafford. A third leader was Sir John Eliot, who defended the rights of the House of Commons, saying that they were essentially the rights of the people. A fourth was John Pym, a Puritan, a powerful orator, and a man who encouraged others to defy the king. Under their leadership parliament made an effort to recover its rights. First they submitted to the king a petition of right — that is, a petition requesting the king to see that the rights of the petitioner were not violated. It requested that he put a stop to four specified violations of the rights of the people of England and promise (1) that no taxes of any kind should be levied without the consent of parliament; (2) that soldiers and sailors should not be quartered upon the people; (3) that martial law be abolished in time of peace; and (4) that nobody be imprisoned without just cause being shown. They made it evident that money would be voted if their petition was granted, so the king decided it was best to yield. This was such a great victory for parliament that the document became famous as *the* Petition of Right. Its actual provisions were not so important as the principle involved — that the king was

a. Leaders

b. Petition of Right, 1628

June 7, 1628

subject to law. This principle was not stated in the petition, but it was evident that if the king was forced to observe these four regulations he might also be compelled to obey others.

c. Parliament attacks king

Then Parliament proceeded to take the offensive and apply the principle by attacking other actions of the king. One of these was his collection of tunnage and poundage. Tunnage and poundage was a customs duty which for generations had been granted to each king upon his accession to the throne. It had been granted to Charles for only one year, but he had continued to collect it, and now parliament objected. They also attacked the High-Church party; that is, those commonly called Anglicans who supported the king, insisted upon a strict observance of the Elizabethan Settlement, and opposed the Puritans.

1629

The king decided that this was going too far and dismissed parliament. To a certain extent Charles was justified, for the parliamentary party wanted to make parliament supreme and were just as uncompromising in their demands as the king was in his. On the other hand, Charles and his father were chiefly responsible for the creation of this party because of their own unwillingness to compromise.

C. Arbitrary rule, 1629–1640

1. Foreign policy of peace

After the dismissal of parliament Charles tried to rule without parliament and for eleven years he succeeded. One feature of his policy was unquestionably good — he kept England out of the Thirty Years' War. Perhaps he did it because if he made war he would have had to call parliament to get the money; nevertheless, it was a wise action. Naturally, it made him unpopular, for some said he was a coward, others that he was pro-Catholic, and the profiteers who wanted to live on the blood of their countrymen were of course disappointed. There was no honorable gain that England could have made by entering the war and no just cause for her to defend.

2. Arbitrary taxation

Another feature of this period was the attempt to levy taxes upon his own authority without violating the promise made in the Petition of Right, 1628. He did this by imposing taxes that technically were not new taxes but actually were. For instance, he revived taxes which long ago had been levied by the king, but for many years had been obsolete. The most notorious of these, and sufficient to illustrate his policy, was ship-money. In the Middle Ages a navy had been raised to protect the coast by requiring towns on the coast to furnish ships in 1634 time of war or make a money payment. Charles now levied this same tax in time of peace, the next year extended it to 1635 inland towns, and the following year showed that he intended 1636 to make it a permanent annual tax. Theoretically, he was justified in levying such a tax, because England needed a navy badly. Besides, modern states have long since accepted the idea that a tax should be levied in time of peace to maintain one, and that inland towns should contribute, as well as those on the coast. Nevertheless, the king's action was condemned, partly because it was something new, and more because it upheld his refusal to get the assent of parliament for taxation. A country gentleman named John Hampden refused to pay it. The case was taken to court and seven of the twelve judges decided against him. Intense interest was aroused in the case all over England, and the close decision encouraged antipathy against the king's policy.

3. Religious persecution of the Puritans

The feature of Charles' period of arbitrary rule which proved to be most irritating was his religious policy. He appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. Laud was a strict High-Churchman and the leader of a party called Arminians, because they accepted the theological beliefs of a Dutchman named Arminius. The Arminians were the bitter enemies of the Calvinists, and the Puritans were Calvinists to a man. Consequently, the Puritans looked upon Laud as their enemy and they were further offended by his tendency to favor Roman Catholic forms in the liturgy. Laud lost no time in letting the Puritans know that they must give up their peculiar ideas or suffer for it. He made tours around the country, called visitations, and wherever he found a clergyman who failed to observe the Elizabethan Settlement strictly he discharged him. The result was a close alliance between religion and politics. All who were Puritans were forced to support parliament against the king and all who were Anglicans joined the king's party. The moderates had to take sides for or against the king, and most of them were given good reason to take sides against him. Laud did not stop with merely discharging the Puritans, he increased the persecuting activities of the Court of High Commission and of other courts. The press was severely censored. Puritans had their ears cut off — were whipped, pilloried and persecuted so bitterly that thousands of them emigrated to New England. There they planted their religious ideas and also their belief in constitutional government, as another arbitrary king was to find to his cost a century and a half later.

4. Scotch revolt

Laud's religious policy created a seething discontent in England, and when he tried to extend it to Scotland it brought forth a revolution. In Scotland the majority of the people were strong Calvinists. They had been forced by James to modify their presbyterian form of government and accept some bishops. That was bad enough, but Laud made it worse by composing a prayer book after the model of that used in England and requiring the Scotch to use it. This added an offensive liturgy to an offensive form of government, and the Scotch thought that was going too far. They condemned the prayer book as full of Roman Catholic superstitions. When an attempt was made to use it in a church in Edinburgh, an old woman hurled her stool at the clergyman, and a riot began. The Scotch rose in arms and not only cast out the new prayer book but also along with it the bishops. Then they reëstablished presbyterianism.

July 23, 1637

5. First Bishops' War, 1638–39

Charles could not afford to allow such rebellion to go unpunished. By strenuous efforts he raised money to hire a small army and marched to Scotland. But thousands of Scotch veterans had just returned from the Thirty Years' War, they were easily hired to form an army more numerous than the king's, and he was forced to grant them their demands. Thus the First Bishops' War, as it was called, came to a disgraceful end for the king. It was not long before Charles regretted having yielded and on the advice of Thomas Wentworth, now Lord Strafford, he called parliament and demanded money for a war against the Scotch. Parliament insisted that its grievances should be discussed before money was voted, the king refused, and the parliament was dismissed so soon after it had met that it was called the Short Parliament.

6. Short Parliament, April, 1640

Then the king began the Second Bishops' War. With the help of Strafford he gathered an army, but, as before, the Scotch were so much stronger that he did not even try to fight. They marched across the border and refused to go home till he had agreed to establish presbyterianism in Scotland and to pay the costs they had incurred in the war. To get the money he was compelled to call parliament again, and this session lasted so many years that it was known as the Long Parliament. Charles had tried to rule as a divine right king without gaining the consent of the people for his deeds or recognizing any constitutional rights. He had failed. The problem now was whether he would compromise with those who wanted constitutional government or would still try to rule as an absolute monarch.

7. Second Bishops' War, 1640

8. Long Parliament

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CHAPTER XII

THE CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH IN ENGLAND

I. Peaceful struggle with parliament, 1640–1642
A. Policy of parliament

When the Long Parliament met on November 3, 1640, its members were certain that Charles would ask them for money and in return would be prepared to make concessions. Then after he had secured the aid he wanted he would break his promises and again try to rule without parliament. Consequently, before they granted any assistance, they did everything they could to take away the instruments of the king's arbitrary power and to tie his hands so that he could not recover absolute control. They were in no hurry to pay the Scotch and send them home, because as long as the Scotch occupied the north the parliament had Charles at its mercy. The Scotch, on the other hand, made it evident that this was purely a quarrel between Scotland and its king, and they carefully avoided any action such as plunder that would make it look like an invasion of England.

B. Abolition of the instruments of royal absolutism
1. Ministers

The first thing parliament did to tie the king's hands was to attack his two chief ministers; Archbishop Laud, who was imprisoned, and Wentworth, now Lord Strafford, who was impeached for treason. Wentworth's policy had been to provide efficient administration at any cost; to crush all opposition with a heavy hand. This policy he called "Thorough," and the Puritans detested it because it upheld the king's supremacy. Since Wentworth was not actually guilty of treason, the House of Lords refused to continue the trial, so the House of Commons passed a bill of attainder condemning him for treason. The king had promised Wentworth to protect him, but the mobs outside the palace were so violent that he was frightened into signing the bill, and the best servant Charles ever had went to the scaffold saying quite correctly, "Put not your trust in princes."

May 12, 1641

2. Special courts

In addition to punishing the ministers responsible for Charles' arbitrary policy, parliament also abolished the special courts, such as the Court of High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber, which had been especially active in prosecuting Puritans and other opponents of the king. Regulations were passed about such taxes as ship-money which made it impossible for the king to levy them without parliamentary sanction. And, in order that never again a king might dismiss parliament and rule for an indefinite period without it, they decreed that they could not be dismissed without their own consent, and that in the future a parliament must be summoned at least once in three years. To all these acts the king gave his consent, while at the same time he protested that they violated his constitutional rights, as unquestionably they did. The Long Parliament was determined to be supreme, and in order to accomplish it violated not only the spirit of the constitution as Charles had done, but also the letter, as he had not.

3. Arbitrary taxes

4. Control of parliament

C. Division on religion

So far the action of parliament had been almost unanimous. But when they came to the matter of religion, they disagreed among themselves, and two well-marked parties appeared. One of these was called the Root and Branch Party because they wanted to do away with episcopacy " root and branch." The other was composed of those who still felt an affection for the Anglican church in which they had been reared, and objected to having the forms to which they were attached abolished ruthlessly. Naturally the king sided with them and so at last gained a party in parliament.

D. The Grand Remonstrance Oct., 1641

Then the situation was complicated when a rebellion broke out in Ireland and hundreds of loyal subjects of the crown were massacred. It was evident that an army would have to be put in the field to suppress the rebellion. It was the king's constitutional right to command the army. The Puritans were afraid that he would use the army to overawe parliament. They saw with apprehension that the king's party was growing in parliament, and to meet the crisis they tried to arouse public opinion by composing the Grand Remonstrance. This document gave a long summary of all the misdeeds of the king from parliament's point of view, told what parliament had done to control him, declared that the country was in danger, and proposed changes in the constitution that would have taken away the king's power altogether. The Grand Remonstrance was introduced into Commons and passed by a small majority. While it inflamed public opinion as intended, it also created a reaction in the king's favor, for many people thought it was too extreme.

Nov. 22, 1641

E. Attempt to arrest five members

As usual the king spoiled his own cause by his tactlessness. He talked in loud and offensive language of his rights, and finally ruined his chances completely by surrounding parliament with soldiers one day and attempting to arrest Pym, Hampden and three other leaders of the Commons. Fortunately for themselves they had learned of the king's plot and escaped, but the king had carried matters too far. He had violated the sacred parliamentary right of freedom from arrest. Now no member of the Commons who opposed him could feel safe. As a matter of fact, the king had good reason to believe that he too was in danger, for armed men flocked to London, and there were angry demonstrations. Charles wisely sent his family to a refuge in France, and, after months of negotiations proved futile, left London for the north. There he raised his standard on the towering walls of Nottingham Castle and summoned his followers to arms. Since both sides wanted to be supreme and neither would make concessions to the other, war was inevitable, and war began. Later the king made his headquarters at Oxford.

Aug. 22, 1642

II. Civil War, 1642–1649

A. Sides

1. Royalists

Like most wars the civil war in England was unnecessary, and forced upon an unwilling people. Nothing proves this more clearly than the fact that most of the population of England did not fight at all, and that the minority who did had no clear-cut issue upon which they divided. There were, of course, two sides, one of which was the Royalists — also called Cavaliers because the most important part of their fighting force was the cavalry. Most of the House of Lords joined them, but there were also many peers upon the other side. In general the Royalists were Anglicans, but there were also some Puritans in their ranks, and not a few Anglicans fought against them. They were recruited almost entirely from northwest England, the portion that had least representation in parliament, but there were parliamentary strongholds all through the north. The other side were the Parliamentarians, and because the Cavaliers wore long curls in the manner of Charles I, they cut their hair as close as possible and so gained the name Roundheads. They were joined by the majority of the population in southeastern England, by the artisans, and by the middle class. Yet there were artisans and merchants on the other side. In almost every community both sides were represented and sometimes within a family, so that when a town was captured there was no wholesale burning and killing as in the Thirty Years' War.

2. Parliamentarians

B. King against parliament

1. Indecisive fighting

The first period of the Civil War was a conflict between king and parliament. At the beginning the fighting was not severe because the king on the one side lacked the financial resources to undertake a vigorous campaign, and the parliament on the other controlled the revenues and the navy, so that the easiest policy for them was to hold the king at bay until he was exhausted. Parliament had no army of its own but depended upon the troops raised by districts known as Associations. The fighting was mostly local. Armed bands wandered around the country; came upon each other accidentally as they turned the corner here and there; rushed together and pushed with the pike until one side won, usually the Royalists. In the first year the king defeated the parliamentary army and marched right up to the edge of London and then was not strong enough even to besiege it. The next year he put three powerful armies into the field, but they were so anxious to capture the fortresses in their own localities that they failed to concentrate on London as they should have done, and nothing was accomplished.

1642

1643

2. Solemn League and Covenant, Sept., 1643

Meanwhile parliament achieved a diplomatic triumph that was worth many battles. They persuaded the Scotch to enter an alliance called the Solemn League and Covenant, and in return agreed to reorganize the Anglican church on the presbyterian model. In order to carry out the agreement they summoned a conference of divines known as the Westminster Assembly, which after several years of strenuous discussion produced a statement of belief called the Westminster Confession. Though it was never accepted by the Anglican church, it became the approved standard of the presbyterian churches in both Scotland and America.

3. Cromwell

In the next year, 1644, the fighting became a bitter struggle. There entered upon the stage of war a military figure that towered above all other generals in English history — Oliver Cromwell. Before the Civil War he knew nothing of war, and yet in a few years he became a general who never knew defeat. Always he planned his campaigns with extreme care, so that every large battle was not only a victory but a decisive victory. He knew how to discern the exact moment for action and to act quickly. With a marvelous ability to penetrate right to the heart of the matter he saw that what parliament needed was soldiers who fought not for a job but for a cause; a standing army made invincible by discipline; and a cavalry able to meet the Cavaliers on equal terms. As his own contribution he gathered together a troop of soldiers, and drilled them until they fought with an irresistible force that gained for them the name "Ironsides." He improved the arms with which they fought, and in the campaign of 1644 they proved their worth. The Scotch invaded England and laid siege to the city of York. To relieve it the Royalists sent two armies which united not far from the city on Marston Moor under the command of Prince Rupert. Rupert was the son of the unfortunate Elector Frederick of the Palatinate. He first introduced into England the tactics of Gustavus Adolphus and won many a battle by his dashing, daring bravery. But at the battle of Marston Moor he showed a fatal lack of caution. For hours the armies faced each other, until finally Rupert decided there would be no fighting that day and was about to make camp. Then finally about five in the afternoon the Parliamentarians attacked. In the center Rupert carried all before him, but on his right wing the discipline of the Ironsides showed its power. First they crushed the forces that faced them and then instead of scattering in pursuit they wheeled to the right and attacked the Royalist army in the rear. The result was a decisive victory not only for the army of parliament but also for the military policies of Cromwell.

4. Marston Moor, July 2, 1644

During the following winter parliament passed two ordi-

5. New model army

6. Naseby, June 14, 1645

April, 1646

Feb., 1647

nances (the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model Ordinance) which marked a revolutionary change in the military administration of England. First, they established a standing army which was distinctly the army of the state and not of the king. Secondly, they gave the command of the army to officers who were primarily military and not civil officials, as the king, for example, was before this time. In addition, Cromwell's methods of careful selection of recruits, discipline, and thorough drill were adopted, and he was made one of the chief generals. The army as thus reorganized was called the New Model army and it demonstrated its superiority by completely defeating the king's army under Rupert at Naseby, 1645. This battle proved to be the turning point in the war. Charles was never able to put another army in the field, and in a few months all the fortresses that remained faithful to him were captured. Finally he surrendered himself to his Scotch subjects thinking they might give him easier terms, but they handed him over to parliament as soon as the money that was promised them had been paid. The war should have ended then had the parties been willing to make a reasonable compromise. Unfortunately, the desire for supremacy was too strong for that, and the strife merely entered upon a new period.

C. Independents against Presbyterians

The second period of the Civil War was a conflict between two parties in parliament; the Independents and the Presbyterians. The chief distinction between them was in their beliefs on church government. The Presbyterians wanted the representative form of government they had learned from Calvin, while the Independents wanted each congregation to be independent of any higher authority. The Presbyterians were intolerant of any different religious beliefs, while the Independents, in consistency with their fundamental principle, were willing to tolerate all but Catholics and Episcopalians, and it was only in self-defense that they refused to tolerate them. The Presbyterians were the strongest party in parliament, and, now that the army was no longer necessary, wanted to get rid of it for fear it would be a dangerous rival for power. The army, consequently, supported the Independents, because after winning the war they were not at all willing to let others reap the fruits, especially since large amounts of back pay were due them.

1. Negotiations, 1646–1648

The king was quick to realize the situation and tried to take advantage of it by making each party bid against the other for an alliance with him. Unfortunately for himself he was unable to recognize the proper moment to come to terms, and placed his price far too high for either party. Moreover, he complicated matters by negotiating with the Scots, persuading them to invade England by a promise to establish presbyterianism. This was a fatal mistake, for the Scotch were no match for Cromwell, and in the battle of Preston he scattered them like chaff. After that the Independents had no use for the Presbyterians or for the king either. The army marched to London. One day Colonel Pride stationed his regiment around the parliamentary hall and kept all the Presbyterians from taking their seats. This act, known as Pride's Purge, left only a small minority of the original Long Parliament, and their opponents derisively named it the Rump Parliament. Only ninety members were left out of the five hundred and four elected in 1640. However, these ninety were the representatives of an invincible army and they summoned for trial King Charles I. They accused him of treason, a charge legally so absurd that he refused even to defend himself. Of course he was found guilty, and one chilly morning in January, 1649, he was led out on a scaffold in front of the window of his own dining-hall and beheaded. From that day he was a martyr, and the men who condemned him were branded as regicides. It is one of the paradoxes of history that there is only one king in English history whose statue stands today on the street on which Charles was beheaded, and that king is Charles I. Both he and the parliament which executed him were guilty of the same offense — the failure to solve the problem of combining royal and parliamentary power, and the resort to force.

2. Scotch invasion

Aug. 17–19, 1648

3. Pride's Purge, Dec. 6, 1648

4. Trial and execution of Charles I, Jan. 30, 1649

III. Commonwealth, 1649–1660

After Charles I was executed it was impossible to have a monarchy, because his son Charles II was unacceptable to parliament and no other relative of the royal family could dare to contest his claim. Consequently, England was proclaimed a commonwealth; a council of state was appointed to exercise executive powers; and the House of Lords was abolished. This meant that in form the Rump Parliament ruled England. Actually the country was ruled by Cromwell, who dominated the council. His first problem was to subdue the rebellion in Ireland, which had proclaimed Charles II king. This he did in a ferocious manner. The fortress of Drogheda was captured by the Ironsides and the defenders massacred by Cromwell's orders. When Wexford fell there was another massacre, this time contrary to his orders, and the backbone of the rebellion was crushed. It is doubtful, however, whether the Irish were terrorized into submission and more likely that they were subdued by military superiority. Before the fighting was ended Cromwell was recalled to suppress another foe. The Scotch had proclaimed Charles II their king, as they had a perfect right to do, since they were an independent nation and he was the rightful heir to the throne. However, the Commonwealth knew that meant a constant menace to its safety, and so Cromwell invaded Scotland. At first he was forced to retreat, and then by good fortune defeated the Scotch at the battle of Dunbar. The next year the Scotch invaded England and marched far to the south before Cromwell overtook them and completely annihilated their army at his last battle of Worcester. Then Scotland was united to England and kept in submission by an army of occupation.

A. Rule of Rump Parliament, 1649–1653

1. Irish rebellion

2. Scotch war, 1650–1651

Sept. 3, 1650

Sept. 3, 1651

At the same time another enemy had arisen — the Dutch. After the Dutch Republic had gained its independence, its commerce increased rapidly, and this brought it into conflict with English merchants, who during the Commonwealth became very aggressive. These merchants had supported parliament in the Civil War and they demanded as a reward some kind of state protection against their Dutch rivals. Consequently, the parliament passed the famous Navigation Act of 1651. It had two provisions: (1) goods from Asia, Africa and America should be imported into England and her colonies only in ships owned and manned by Englishmen; (2) goods from Europe could only be imported in the same way or in ships of the country from which they came. In addition the English claimed that the Dutch could not fish in the North Sea without their

3. Dutch war, 1652–1654

consent. These and other demands were bitterly irritating to the proud little Dutch Republic. The result of such antagonism was a war with the Dutch in which the English got the worst of it until they found a great admiral in Robert Blake, a genius on the sea just as Cromwell was a genius on land. He beat the Dutch badly and forced them to recognize the Navigation Act. The recognition was formal, however, and the period of bitter commercial rivalry continued for at least a generation.

4. Expulsion of the Rump Parliament, April 20, 1653

After the Irish, the Scotch and the Dutch were defeated, the Commonwealth was safe, and there was no longer any valid reason why England should be ruled by an oligarchy like the Rump Parliament. Nevertheless it laid plans to keep itself in power. When Cromwell heard of it he marched down to parliament with his soldiers, shouted angrily to the members, " Come, come, I will put an end to your prating," and drove them from the building. That ended the period of the Rump Parliament and began the period of the rule of Cromwell.

B. Rule of Cromwell, 1653–1658

1. Constitutional experiments

Dec. 16, 1653

Cromwell's rule was essentially a dictatorship, in spite of the fact that he favored parliamentary government and tried several experiments to get a form of government that he thought competent to bear the burdens of state. One of the experimental constitutions (the Instrument of Government) gave to him the title " Lord Protector " formerly used by Somerset, and bore a close resemblance to the constitution later adopted by the United States. It failed like the rest, and though there was a parliament in session for almost half of his rule altogether, his real power rested upon the army and his word was law. England submitted because he gave to the country peace and prosperity, a very unusual thing after a civil war, and because his foreign policy brought glory to England such as she had not known for many long years. If Cromwell was a tyrant, he was also a fervent patriot. He was a man of firm religious convictions and yet tolerant of others.

2. Foreign policy

Cromwell's foreign policy had four well-marked and well-chosen aims. One was to keep the Stuarts from the throne, a second was to oppose Spain, a third was to protect Protestantism, and a fourth was to advance English commerce. To achieve these aims he entered into the successful war with the

Dutch already mentioned. He also declared war on Spain and made an alliance with France in the fighting which continued between those two countries after the Treaty of Westphalia. By this alliance he gained the valuable island of Jamaica and the important port of Dunkirk in Flanders. He forced the Duke of Savoy to stop persecuting the Protestants in his neighborhood, and he kept Charles II a homeless exile upon the continent. By this policy colonies and commerce prospered and England's prestige was restored to as high a pitch as it had ever known.

C. Fall of the Commonwealth

Finally the day came when Oliver Cromwell died and dictators of his capacity were not easily to be found. Neither were they desired by a country which had fought a war to get rid of a dictator. His son Richard Cromwell tried to take his place, but after a few months he retired to the country, where he lived a quiet life much more to his liking. Then the Rump Parliament reassembled and tried to rule the nation. Without Oliver they were only a group of bunglers, however, and their rule was brought to an end when General Monk, who commanded the army of occupation in Scotland, marched down to London and sent them home. At his command the entire membership of the Long Parliament was called together again. They summoned a convention to deal with the emergency and then dissolved. All this time Charles II had been carefully watching the trend of events and now he offered favorable terms of peace in the Declaration of Breda issued from his residence in the Dutch Republic. The Convention accepted the offer and invited him to take possession of the throne which had rightfully been his ever since his father's death in 1649.

1658

April, 1659

May, 1659

Feb., 1660

March, 16, 1660

April 4, 1660

IV. Conclusion

England had tried royal supremacy under Charles, and then changed to parliamentary supremacy during the Civil War. Neither had been successful and both had vainly tried to establish an enduring government on the weak foundation of physical force. Now at last England had learned the lesson that she needed both parliament and king. The two finally made an agreement to work together in the rule of the land.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE RESTORATION PERIOD IN ENGLAND (1660–1689)

I. Charles II (1649–1685)

A. Return

The terms offered to England by Charles II in his Declaration of Breda were acceptable to the convention parliament called together by General Monk, and they in their turn made counter proposals in the form of acts. Both the king and parliament made moderate demands and thus practically concluded a treaty of peace. Charles returned to England, and amid great rejoicing was proclaimed king in 1660, though his reign was dated from his father's death in 1649. In personality he was a contrast to his father, for he was dissolute. To a handsome appearance he added a genial, witty temperament that attracted many friends. Pleasure was for him more of a business than a pastime, and his conduct was grossly immoral. In this respect he was well fitted to be king of England during the Restoration Period, for immorality, extravagance, and love of pleasure were the spirit of the age. At the same time Charles II had more political ability than any of the other Stuart kings. Like all great politicians he chose a policy and clung steadfastly to it, although at the same time he never asserted it blatantly or defined it in such clear terms that his enemies could easily attack it. He even affected a spirit of vacillation, and strove to attain his ends by means so devious and varied that the connection between them becomes apparent only after careful study. At first sight the Restoration appears to be a period filled with a complicated mass of unrelated events, but a comparison of what happened shows that there were two determining movements, of which the events were only the tangible evidence.

May 29, 1660

B. Personality

II. Reaction

The first of these movements was a reaction against the Civil War and the Commonwealth. Soon after Charles was safely seated upon the throne he issued orders for the election of a

A. Cavalier Parliament, 1661–1679

May 8, 1661

B. Clarendon Code, 1661–65

parliament. The result was a House of Commons with a large majority of members from the Cavalier party, and naturally their main desire was to gain revenge on their opponents, the Puritans. This they did by passing a series of laws known as the Clarendon Code, because Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was the chief minister of the king at that time. The name was misleading, because Clarendon was too good a statesman to approve of such a violent piece of party legislation, and vainly advocated a more tolerant policy. The Clarendon Code placed severe penalties on all who were not strict Anglicans in order to make them conform. The effect of this piece of legislation was to eliminate the Puritan party. Those who had been Puritans either left the church entirely and organized churches of their own, or else they stayed within the church and accepted the three fundamental principles of Anglicanism: the supremacy of the crown over the church, the episcopal form of church government, and a formal liturgy. Still they did not apply these principles strictly, and consequently were known as the Low-Church Party. Needless to say, a change in name was far from a change in their views and for years after the Clarendon Code went into effect the Puritans lived on, though their party had died.

III. Struggle of king and parliament

A. Causes

1. Divine right of kings

The second great movement during the Restoration period was the struggle between king and parliament for supremacy. One cause for the struggle was that Charles II was just as firm a believer in the divine right of kings as his father or grandfather, even though bitter years of exile had taught him discretion. When he returned, the Convention had abolished the feudal tenure of land and voted the king in its place an annual revenue based upon certain taxes. In practice the taxes only yielded about half the amount that parliament estimated they would, and the consequence was that Charles was constantly in need of money. This crippled him financially and made him dependent upon parliament, but it also made him determined to become more independent if he could. A second cause was the fact that the division of powers between the king and parliament, made by the settlement of 1660, had given each about an equal share in the government, so that there was a

2. Question of final authority

fairly well established balance between them. Unfortunately, however, no decision was made as to where the final authority rested in case of a dispute between king and parliament. That question was sure to arise, and the only way to settle it was by a struggle to see which was the stronger. The third cause was the necessity of working out problems which had not been settled by the Civil War. Nothing is more evident from a study of history than that the problems of mankind are poorly solved by breaking men's heads. The difficulties in the English government had to be overcome by a process of adjustment and readjustment. During the Restoration period much of the construction of this process of adjustment was worked out by king and parliament.

3. Necessity of adjustment

B. Issues

Of course the king did not declare openly that he was struggling to see whether he could be supreme in the state. The battle was technically fought over other issues. Of these the most important were the efforts of the king to tolerate the Catholics, and to make an alliance with the strongest Catholic power — France. Again and again these were the matters upon which the king and parliament came to blows, but the fundamental question settled by the blows was which was to have the final authority in the state.

1. Toleration of Catholics

2. French alliance

C. Marriage, 1662

The first event which showed the king's policy was his marriage. Charles asked the King of Spain for the hand of his second daughter, but there was too great a probability that she would inherit the throne of Spain, and so her hand was refused. Then Charles asked Louis XIV, King of France, to help him find a wife, and Louis suggested Catherine of Braganza, the princess of Portugal. This was a good suggestion, because an alliance with Portugal would help trade between that country and England. It would also be a fine way to gain revenge on Spain, since Portugal was fighting for her independence from Spain. Besides, Catherine was provided with a magnificent dowry and Charles needed the money badly. In return for her hand the English king promised to send a small army to help Portugal, and it was not long before the marriage took place. Then it was followed by two events which showed that the marriage involved an understanding with France and the

May 20, 1662

Nov., 1662 Catholics. One of these was the sale to France of Dunkirk, the fortress taken by Cromwell in the Netherlands. The other was Dec., 1662 a declaration of indulgence issued by Charles, in which he stated that he hoped parliament would give him the privilege of dispensing with the laws against dissenters. His hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Cavalier Parliament was just as intent on maintaining the supremacy of their power as upon punishing the Puritans, and they refused to let Charles have the right of dispensation. The king did not like the high-handed methods of parliament at all, but he was afraid to dismiss it, for he knew another election would return a worse one. So he let the matter drop and turned aside to his pleasures. Unfortunately the marriage was not a happy one for poor Catherine, because Charles was so entranced by his mistresses that he not only neglected her cruelly, but often insulted her by his shameful conduct.

D. Second Dutch War, 1665–1667 The next event which affected the struggle between king and parliament was the Second Dutch War. The war was caused by the bitter commercial rivalry between the two countries, and May, 1664 by frequent acts of hostility, such as the seizure of New Amsterdam by the British. There were several naval battles of July 27, 1667 no very great consequence, and finally the war ended with a peace in which the two countries divided the colonial possessions in dispute between them. One result of the war was that it removed the chief causes for conflict between England and the Dutch, and from this time on the English realized more and more that their real enemy was France. Due to the careful government of capable ministers the prosperity of France had been restored, and under her new king Louis XIV she was showing a belligerent attitude that gave the English good cause for alarm. Charles, however, was not alarmed. He looked upon France as his natural ally, and so the antagonism between himself and parliament was increased. Mat- 1667 ters were made worse in the same year when Louis invaded the Spanish Netherlands. His military forces were so superior that he carried all before him, and in great alarm the nations of England, Sweden and the Dutch Republic formed the Triple Alliance to induce him to make peace. Charles II was not at all in sympathy with the Triple Alliance, and the mere fact that parliament had allied England against France was good reason why he should seek an alliance with the French king. As it happened, Louis made peace, but it was certainly not fear of the Triple Alliance that made him do so. 1668

E. Alliance of Charles and Louis

1. Treaty of Dover, May 22, 1670

Not long afterwards Charles opened negotiations with Louis, and finally the Treaty of Dover was secretly signed, by which Louis agreed to pay Charles a large subsidy, and in return Charles promised to help the French king in a war which the latter was planning against the Dutch. In addition Charles promised to establish Roman Catholicism in England as soon as a favorable opportunity presented itself, and Louis assured him of military support in case he encountered any resistance. In order to guard the secrecy of the treaty, another treaty was negotiated and publicly announced, which was the same except that it omitted the provisions about religion. As a matter of fact the opportunity for establishing Catholicism never presented itself, but now that Charles had some money he felt strong enough to show his independence of parliament by issuing the Second Declaration of Indulgence. This time he declared on his own authority that all laws against dissenters were suspended, and even mentioned Catholics by name as included.

1671

2. Second Declaration of Indulgence, March 15, 1672

F. Third Dutch War, 1672–1674

1. English defeats

2. Meeting of parliament, Feb., 1673

3. Repeal of Declaration of Indulgence

4. Test Act, March 29, 1673

It seemed as if the king had at last gained the upper hand over parliament. Louis attacked the Dutch and England joined forces with him as promised. In the war that followed the English met with serious reverses. These failures forced Charles to call together the Cavalier Parliament again. They realized that they had him at a disadvantage, and immediately proceeded, not only to repeal the Declaration of Indulgence, but also to add the Test Act, 1673, to the Clarendon Code. This act was one of the most famous in the history of England. It excluded from the civil and military service of the nation all persons who could not pass a certain test. This test was to take the oath of supremacy, also to take another oath that they did not believe in transubstantiation, and to eat the Lord's Supper according to the Anglican rites. Since no Catholic would do this, it meant that the king could no longer choose

Catholic ministers as he had done not long before. It was made more effective by the passing of similar test acts excluding Catholics from parliament and the universities. Then as a final blow to Charles' policies, and as a proof that he could not act contrary to the will of parliament, he was forced to make a separate peace with the Dutch. These acts were a severe defeat for the king, but he was such a clever politician that he still knew how to make profit out of the situation. By the most astute and unscrupulous diplomacy he induced Louis to pay him large sums to keep England neutral during the remainder of the war, and at the same time extracted money from parliament as an inducement not to make an alliance with France. Thus he used one against the other until the war came to an end. Realizing that the Catholics were too weak in England to be of much aid to him he dropped his Catholic policy, and chose as his chief minister one of the Catholics' greatest enemies — the Earl of Danby.

5. Peace with the Dutch, Feb. 9, 1674

6. Financial tricks of the king

G. Rise of political parties

During this period it became evident that there had arrived upon the stage of history a new institution — the political party of modern times. It grew out of a peculiar situation. The Cavalier Parliament had lasted for a long time, and, as year after year made it evident that the fundamental question was the supremacy of king or parliament, the members began to form permanent groups on that question. These groups were given even greater cohesion by the fact that the king played fast and loose with his ministers, supporting them or not as he willed, and the ministers were forced to gain support by building up a following in parliament. Danby, for instance, became the leader of the group which believed in giving the king as much power as possible, and upholding the Clarendon Code. This group drew its support chiefly from the landlords, the Anglican clergy and the courtiers. The other group, first known as the Country Party, was led by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and advocated the supremacy of parliament with the toleration of Protestant dissenters. They drew their support chiefly from the nobles, the manufacturers, the merchants and the dissenters. In order to give them a definite objective Shaftesbury framed a platform with three planks: the disbandment of

1. Groups form

2. Danby's party

3. Shaftesbury's party

the army, the impeachment of Danby, and the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the throne. The last plank was aimed at the king's brother James, who was an avowed Catholic and the heir to the crown in case Charles had no children.

4. Catholic Terror, 1678–1679

Shaftesbury's party was given its opportunity when there broke out a religious panic known as the Catholic Terror. It began with the statement by a notorious rascal, named Titus Oates, that the Catholics were plotting to assassinate the king and land a French army in England. To these lies he added many others, and took an oath that they were true. 1678 The judge before whom he took it was murdered, apparently by the Catholics, and the Oct. 17, 1678 result was a panic of fear, in which the Catholics were attacked and even some innocent persons executed. Charles was helpless, because at the close of the war between France and Holland his payments from Louis XIV had stopped. When parliament met, the Country Party first forced the king to disband Oct. 21, 1678 his small standing army, and then began impeachment proceedings in parliament against Danby, the leader of their opponents. Charles tried to save him by dissolving the Cavalier Parliament, but his attempt failed, for the next parliament contained even more members of the Country Party, and Danby was impeached. 1679 In addition parliament took occasion to assert its authority by passing the famous Habeas Corpus Act, 1679. This act merely made a law of a long established custom, that May 26, 1679 a man could not be kept in jail on a criminal charge more than a short time without being produced in court, to see if there was a probability that he was guilty of some crime and to ensure him a trial. Then the Country Party used the popular excitement to gain their third objective of excluding James from the throne by introducing the so-called Exclusion Bill. Again Charles tried to save himself as well as his brother by proroguing parliament. By this time the excitement all over the country was intense. Shaftesbury's party sent in large numbers of petitions demanding that parliament be reassembled. Thus they became known as the Petitioners. The other side sent in petitions expressing their abhorrence of the idea and so were called the Abhorrers. These were awkward names, and it was not long before more convenient and expressive nicknames were used — the Petitioners being stigmatized by their enemies as Whigs, and the Abhorrers being labeled Tories. With this the main features of the first political parties of England were achieved: the names, the division of the country, and allegiance to a party organization rather than to certain beliefs.

H. Triumph of Charles II

The king was obliged to call parliament again as the Whigs wished, but in the meantime the tide began to turn in his favor. There was a reaction against the extreme and unreasonable Catholic Terror. The Whigs made the absurd error of proposing that the king's illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth should inherit the throne. That was such an unheard of proposal that only the wildest minds would listen to it. Another Exclusion Bill was introduced, but it was defeated in the House of Lords, and then Charles felt sufficiently strong to dissolve parliament altogether. (Jan., 1681) In addition he was fortunate enough to secure a pension from Louis XIV that made him independent financially, and when he called his next parliament in the same year, he overawed it with soldiers and dismissed it in a few days. At last Charles was in the saddle, and he made the best of his advantage to attack the Whigs. They were strongest in the boroughs, so by a skillful legal campaign he sued the boroughs in the courts and took their charters away from them one after another. Then he appointed Tory officials in place of the Whigs. Everything was going fine till suddenly the hand of death was laid upon him, and in the prime of life he passed away stricken by an agonizing disease, (Feb. 2, 1685) that none of his physicians could cure. At the last moment a Catholic priest was smuggled up a back stairway and helped Charles the Dissolute to make his peace with God.

I. James II (1685–1689)

1. Popularity

James II, who followed Charles upon the throne, continued the struggle with parliament, and at first he enjoyed a general popularity in spite of the fact that he was a Roman Catholic. He had a good reputation as an admiral, the Tory party was united behind him, and even his enemies were ready to say that it was better to have a Catholic for a king than to have another civil war. Besides, Mary and Anne, the two daughters of his first wife, were Protestants, and as yet his second wife had no children. Consequently the probabilities were that it was only a question of time till England would have a Protestant ruler again. There were a couple of rebellions, but the ease with which they were suppressed showed that the mass of influential opinion was with James.

Unfortunately he lacked the political wisdom of his brother, and soon began to abuse his popularity. He failed to realize that there were some things that no king in England could ever do again with impunity, and he did a number of them. One unpardonable offense was to retain the large force raised to suppress the rebellions and use it as a standing army. Another was to issue declarations of indulgence and by means of them admit Catholics to offices in the state. And then he made his policy unnecessarily disagreeable by establishing Catholic worship openly. One place where the priests of Rome were allowed to chant the mass and even put Protestants out of office was in Oxford, the traditional stronghold of the Stuarts. Even the friends of the family could not endure such treatment, and the members of the Tory party in general were violently antagonized by the king's actions. Finally James realized that he had lost the support of his party, and then he made a bid for the help of the dissenters by offering to grant them toleration along with the Catholics. But the dissenters preferred not to be tolerated rather than to assist in the establishment of Roman Catholicism. By the end of two years James found himself without any strong party to support him. Then two events brought on a crisis that forced the people of England to act. One was the birth of a son, also named James, to the king's second wife. This meant that there was a Catholic heir to the throne, and increased the danger that the pope might again be supreme over the Church of England. The second was the prosecution of six bishops for refusing to read a declaration of indulgence. The judges showed the courage to acquit them on a technicality, and this kindled a flame of resistance to the king that rapidly spread throughout the land.

2. Abuse of popularity

1686–87

3. Bid for support of dissenters, 1687

4. Crisis, 1688

June 10, 1688

June 30, 1688

5. Glorious Revolution, 1688–1689

The result was a revolution commonly known as the Glorious Revolution. It began when several leaders of both Whigs and Tories joined in inviting William of Orange, the husband of James' daughter, Mary, and leader of the Dutch Republic, to come to England and help them settle their troubles. William accepted the invitation, chiefly because he was engaged in a bitter struggle with Louis XIV and this was an opportunity to get England on his side. No sooner had William landed than James' army began to desert him. James found himself in a completely defenseless position and fled to France. By flight he ruined all his prospects, for his enemies said flight was equivalent to abdication. In the emergency William called a Convention, known as a Convention Parliament because the same method of election was employed. The Convention discussed various plans for dealing with the situation, and, after none of them was found acceptable, finally offered the crown jointly to William and Mary. On February 13, 1689, they were proclaimed William III and Mary II, and thus it was definitely decided that the King of England ruled not by divine right but by the choice of the people expressed through parliament. This meant that the final authority in the state was parliament. At last England had found the answer to the problem which the country had faced nearly a century before when James I came to the throne. Neither king nor parliament was to have complete power. They must rule together, but in case of dispute the decision rested with parliament.

a. Events

Nov. 5, 1688

Dec. 11, 1688

Jan. 22, 1689

b. Revolutionary Settlement

During this constitutional struggle in England it had become evident that there were certain fundamental principles of government to which the majority of the nation were agreed. After William and Mary were securely seated on the throne parliament passed a series of acts in which these fundamental principles were incorporated, though they were nowhere definitely expressed as constitutional laws. These acts, of which four were most important, were known as the Revolutionary Settlement. The Bill of Rights established the principle that there were certain privileges and powers of parliament which the king must respect and which ultimately gave the representatives of the people the final authority in the state. The Civil List provided the king with a fixed revenue for personal expenses and so made taxation an activity of the state and

Dec. 16, 1689

March 20, 1690

not of the king. The Mutiny Act subjected the standing army to the control of parliament by making it impossible for the king to maintain one without parliament's consent. The Toleration Act partially settled the religious question by permitting freedom of worship. Technically Catholics and Antitrinitarians were excluded from its benefits, but in practice the law was not enforced against them. In addition there were other laws all intended to put the control of the government in the hands of the people of England. This was the Revolutionary Settlement, and the remarkable thing was that is was so well made that never again did king and people find any occasion for quarreling in the problems over which they had struggled so fiercely under the Stuarts in the seventeenth century.

March, 1689

May 24, 1689

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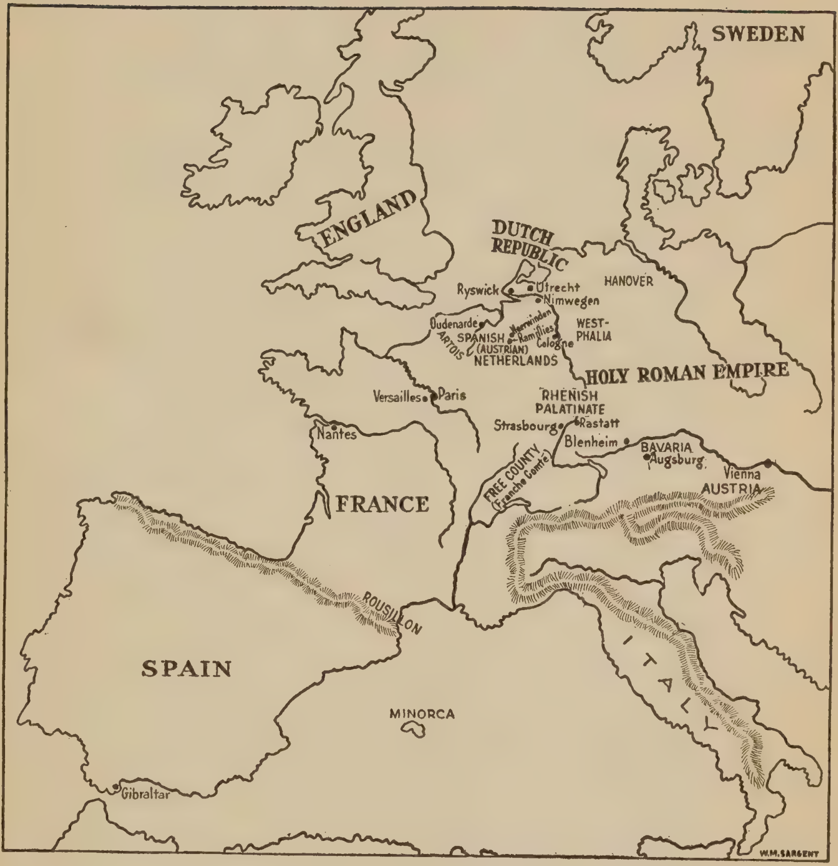
SWEDEN
ENGLAND
DUTCH REPUBLIC
Ryswick
Utrecht
Nimwegen
HANOVER
Oudenarde
Neerwinden
Ramillies
Cologne
WEST-PHALIA
ARTOIS
SPANISH (AUSTRIAN) NETHERLANDS
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Versailles
Paris
RHENISH PALATINATE
Strasbourg
Rastatt
Nantes
Blenheim
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Vienna
AUSTRIA
FREE COUNTY (Franche Comté)
FRANCE
ROUSILLON
SPAIN
MINORCA
ITALY
Gibraltar
W.M.SARGENT

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

CHAPTER XIV

FRANCE DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV (1643–1685)

I. Minority, 1643–1656

When Louis XIII came to the end of his unhappy life, his son and successor, Louis XIV, was only five years of age, and so, in accordance with French custom, his mother, Anne of Austria, was made regent. She chose as her chief minister Cardinal Mazarin, the protégé of Cardinal Richelieu, and under his able diplomacy France emerged triumphant from the Thirty Years' War. Within France Mazarin was not so successful, for a few years after he took office there broke out a period of civil war known as the Wars of the Fronde.

A. Mazarin

1648

B. Wars of the Fronde, 1648–1653

1. Cause

The Fronde was caused primarily by the action of the parlement of Paris — the most important of a number of supreme courts throughout the kingdom called parlements. In addition to its judicial duties the parlement of Paris had acquired the right to register the decrees of the king before they became official, and even to refuse to register those which it found out of accord with established law. The theory was that this prevented the issue of laws contradicting those already on the books, but in practice it was sometimes used as a means of resisting edicts that the parlement disliked. In such a case the king could hold a *lit de justice,* that is, a formal session of the court over which he presided personally, and in which he ordered it to register the decree. The success of the English parliament in their conflict with Charles I inspired the parlement of Paris to play a similar part in France, and to gain a similar position of predominance in the government. They began by objecting to edicts on taxation, and then demanded changes that would give them more control of the government. It was easy to stir up antagonism against Mazarin and to start riots in Paris. But the situation in France was far different

2. Events

from that in England, and the Wars of the Fronde failed to become a struggle between king and people with a great parliamentary principle at stake. Instead they developed into complicated strife between numerous factions, each seeking its own interest, with much indecisive fighting on a small scale. Finally the people became weary of the turmoil, the city of Paris threw open its gates to Louis XIV, and Mazarin found himself once more in power.

3. Defeat

C. War with Spain

1. Victories

2. Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659

After the civil war was ended, Mazarin turned his chief attention to the war with Spain, which had continued on after the Treaty of Westphalia. With the help of troops from England and the genius of Condé and Turenne he was able to bring the war to a successful conclusion, and Spain was forced to sign the Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659. This treaty was important for three reasons: first, it marked the end of Spanish supremacy in Europe; second, it gave to France additional territories, of which the most important were Roussillon in the Pyrenees and Artois on the border of the Spanish Netherlands; and third, it provided for a marriage alliance between Louis XIV and Maria Theresa, the daughter of King Philip IV of Spain. This marriage had an important effect upon European diplomacy for the next two generations. Maria Theresa was the only living child of Philip's first wife. A second wife gave birth to a son who was a sickly infant and not expected to live. In case he died Maria would inherit the throne, and that would mean the loss of the throne by the Hapsburgs to the Bourbons, and the personal union of Spain and France. To prevent this both Louis and Maria Theresa were required to renounce her rights to the Spanish throne, and they did it upon condition that her dowry be paid. It was never paid. To complicate matters, the infant son of Philip IV died, and before Philip's own death another was born, who became Charles II. He was diseased from birth and not expected to live more than a few months. He had neither teeth nor hair, and for a long time was unable to stand erect by himself. Consequently Louis XIV lived in constant expectation of hearing that Charles had died, and that he could claim the throne of Spain in his wife's name. But, as fate would have it, the

1665

sickly Charles II lived on year after year, keeping the diplomats of Europe in bitter suspense.

II. Personality

When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis announced to everybody's surprise that he would take charge of the state himself. His personality was in many ways well fitted to the task, for he was industrious in a routine, conscientious way. In appearance he was every inch a king — handsome and dignified. By his courteous bearing and scrupulous regard for etiquette he did his best to play the part of a king as it should be played. Richelieu had skillfully created a niche for an absolute king, and Louis fitted it perfectly. Never did he question for one minute that he was second only to God, and the only thing that exceeded his vanity was his ambition to be the greatest king who had ever lived. He delighted in flattery and praise. Yet in intellect he was mediocre and sometimes even dull. Religiously he was very devout in a formal way, but he lacked a moral sense. He kept a number of mistresses openly, and even treated them on equal terms with the queen. Finally, however, he fell under the influence of a governess employed by one of them, and when she refused to become his mistress, he was so entranced by her charms and virtue that, when his wife died suddenly, he secretly married her, and put aside all his mistresses. He gave her the estate of Maintenon, from which she took the name Madame de Maintenon. For the last thirty years of his reign she exercised an important influence upon his policies.

A. Industrious

B. Royal

C. Vain

D. Mediocre

E. Religious

1684

III. Ministers

The first part of Louis' reign was by far the most successful, and this success was chiefly due to the fact that he was aided by an exceptionally able corps of ministers, most of them trained by Mazarin. Of these Lionne was the one who had charge of foreign affairs, and organized a diplomatic corps far superior to any other in Europe at that time. He was responsible for wording the Treaty of the Pyrenees so that Louis would be technically justified in breaking it as soon as the feeble King of Spain died. He it was who taught Louis to act with a high hand — demanding unreasonably superior privileges for his ambassadors and threatening war when they were refused. He taught Louis to make diplomacy as effective an instrument

A. Lionne

as war in increasing the power of France, and when war was made to be sure that the enemy was first isolated diplomatically. Another man who exercised an even greater influence was Louvois, the minister of war. He developed the indispensable instrument of absolute monarchy — the standing army — until it attained the form maintained until modern times. As never before he emphasized the importance of good food, good equipment, and good arsenals of supplies. The engineers were made a separate branch of the army, and officers who made money by selling the supplies intended for their men were punished. Thus Louis was given at the start of his reign the best organized armies in Europe. Unfortunately Louvois was a bad influence, for having developed this remarkable machine he was naturally anxious to see it work. He urged Louis to fight unnecessary wars, and even in time of peace to make extravagant expenditures. Another capable minister was Vauban, who built unexcelled fortifications.

B. Louvois

C. Vauban

The greatest of the ministers in his contributions to the economic welfare of France was Colbert. Colbert was a great financier and economist, and this was only natural since he was born a member of the middle class — the bourgeoisie. His financial abilities first attracted the attention of Mazarin; he was given the management of the cardinal's personal estates; and the result was that Mazarin died the richest man in France. Louis had great need of just such a man, for neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had any economic ability, and the finances of the kingdom were in a fearful state. Colbert quickly put things to rights, and he was not afraid to resort to extreme measures to do it. Grafters were severely punished. A careful system of bookkeeping was established and an entirely new policy was adopted in taxation. This policy was to reduce taxes, to increase revenues at the same time by eliminating all waste in the process of collection, and to regulate the economic life of the nation so as to make the people more prosperous, thus increasing the wealth available for taxation. In a short time he changed the huge debt of the nation to a surplus, and he provided Louis with an income such as no other European monarch had ever enjoyed. Unfortunately the king developed extrava-

D. Colbert

1. Financier

gant tastes, and it was not long before the large sums accumulated by the frugality of Colbert were dissipated in luxuries and wars.

2. Economist

a. Policy of mercantilism

Colbert's work as an economist was inferior to his achievements as a financier. In policy he showed no originality, but adopted the prevailing theory of mercantilism. This theory of political economy held that the wealth of a nation consisted in the amount of precious metals which it possessed. On this principle was based a second principle that a favorable balance of trade should be maintained; that is, exports should exceed imports so that precious metals would flow into the country rather than out of it. Still a third principle was the development of colonies so that they might supply the mother country with products that would otherwise have to be bought from foreign nations. The truth of the theory of mercantilism was proved to the satisfaction of Europe in the seventeenth century by the example of Spain, for Spain's great power had rested on the huge supply of precious metals which she had drawn from America. Likewise her fall was attributed to the way in which the metals were allowed to pass through Spain to other nations. The statesmen of that time were convinced that success in war depended upon a hoard of precious metals to finance it. The application of mercantilism meant the careful regulation of all economic activities by the government. This was nothing new in principle, for all through the Middle Ages the gilds and the towns had done that. The difference was that now the nation replaced the town as the regulating agency.

b. Regulation of economic life

c. Failure

Colbert regulated the economic activities of France with the greatest diligence. He tried to encourage industry and to increase commerce. Agriculture also was made to conform to mercantilistic ideals. Unfortunately the methods he adopted were ill-chosen and seriously injured the prosperity of the country. The restrictions he established interfered with trade. For example, he followed the custom of the gilds in specifying carefully the mode of manufacture for certain articles, and the quality of the product. The result was that vast quantities of products were destroyed because they were slightly imperfect, and often a manufacturer was unable to accept orders from foreign merchants because they wanted a different quality. His regulations were regarded as so oppressive that he was bitterly hated by the people, and when he died a guard of soldiers had to be placed around his body to keep the mob from tearing it to pieces. 1683

IV. Versailles

One of the most famous features of the reign of Louis XIV was his court. A. Cause In order to escape the contamination of the common herd at Paris and to reign in greater splendor than any other earthly monarch, he built for himself an enormous palace at Versailles a short distance from the city. B. Location With complete disregard for the beauties of nature he chose for himself a flat, unattractive spot in a country where sites with beautiful vistas abounded. C. Cost The cost of the vast combination of buildings he erected there was so stupendous that no accurate estimate of it has ever been made, but it was at least equal to the total revenue of the nation for a year and a half at the time when Louis' revenue was greatest. D. Luxury The undertaking was encouraged by Louvois, who loved extravagance; but Louis needed little urging, and not the least of the expense was for the maintenance of the lavish display of luxury. In reality the palace of Versailles was a kind of huge country club maintained by the king for the benefit of the nobility of France. Music, food, wine, amusements, and festivities were all provided in vast quantities. In return the nobility were expected to reside at court, and banishment from the king's presence was regarded as an almost unbearable punishment. They were encouraged to live as extravagantly as they possibly could, and unbelievable sums were expended on dress and entertainment.

E. Effect All of this had a most important effect upon France. The old feudal nobles were transformed into a class of courtiers. Being kept at Versailles, they were continually under the king's supervision, and any successful attempt at insurrection was thus made impossible. In fact, little attempt was made, for the nobles soon learned to enjoy the life of idle wastefulness that they were taught to live, and discarded all idea of performing any useful function in the state. Thus they became not only a useless class, but also a pernicious one, for they were absentee landlords, collecting their rents through superintendents who were experts in extortion.

V. Culture

The reign of Louis XIV also marked a period of high culture in the history of France. There were great dramatists, such as Molière; great poets, such as Racine; and renowned preachers, such as Bossuet. Madame de Sévigné gained a great reputation by the beautiful style of her letters, and others, like Saint-Simon, wrote memoirs that were models for later generations. Louis gave pensions freely to writers, chiefly to those who were skillful in flattering him. The result was a vast amount of worthless advertising of his imaginary virtues, that had small literary value.

VI. Persecution of Huguenots

A. Cause

One of the most regrettable policies of the "grand monarch" was his persecution of the Huguenots. This policy was undertaken by the king almost entirely for religious reasons, since the Huguenots were loyal, thrifty citizens, and there was neither political nor economic cause for attacking them. In reality it was a mass movement of Catholics against Protestants, in which the king was the leader. Louis was devoured by an ambition to make himself famous as the king who converted all the heretics in France and rendered the church the greatest service it had ever known. At first he used legal methods, such as persuasion and bribery, to induce the Huguenots to renounce their religion. It was made evident that anybody who was a Protestant was regarded with disfavor and could hope for no advancement or patronage by the king. Protestant churches which were found to have been built in violation of the Edict of Nantes were destroyed.

B. Legal methods

Such measures proved to be inadequate and it was not long before Louis, pressed by his ambition, advanced to illegal measures. Courts were influenced to pronounce false judgments against Protestant churches; soldiers were quartered in the homes of Huguenots; and, worst of all, children seven years old were allowed to choose their religion. In this way children of Huguenots were easily persuaded to become Catholics, and were taken away from their parents. The persecution of the Huguenots by the quartering of soldiers upon them was called the dragonnades, and the treatment the brutal men inflicted

C. Illegal methods

upon their unwilling hosts was so terrible that often just the threat of sending dragoons was sufficient to gain hundreds of conversions in a district. The Catholics were none too scrupulous about the sincerity of the conversions, and finally it was declared that all the Huguenots had been converted. The Edict of Nantes was repealed in 1685 on the ground that there was no longer anybody to need it, and all over Europe Louis was praised. This was declared to be his greatest achievement, but the praise was premature, for it soon became evident that there were plenty of people who were not converted, and there were many converts who were far from being good Catholics.

D. Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 1685

They were severely persecuted, and when they tried to emigrate from the country they were punished for that. One of the most severe punishments was condemnation to the galleys, where the terrible treatment they received soon ended the lives of most of them. Another common and brutal punishment was to drag the naked bodies of dead heretics through the streets and throw them upon the dump to be treated with all kinds of mutilation by the mob. Still the persecution was unsuccessful, partly because it was spasmodic, and partly because Louis became involved in wars that made it unwise to alienate a large portion of his subjects. The number of those who emigrated from France has been variously estimated and usually exaggerated. In itself it would not have seriously injured trade and commerce, in which the Huguenots were so active, but combined with war and the unwise restrictions of the government it was an important factor in ruining the economic prosperity of France. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, for which Louis was most praised in his lifetime, was the act for which he was most condemned by later generations.

E. Persecution

The worst feature of his reign was his policy of war. Under his leadership France engaged in a series of five wars, all of which had the same two fundamental causes. The first cause was the extension of the boundaries of France. To understand this cause it is necessary to go back in history for at least two centuries to the reign of Louis XI, in order to see the wars of Louis XIV as part of a long movement. Louis XI made a vigorous attempt to subject the powerful fiefs of France to

VII. Wars
A. General causes

the authority of the king. In this effort for centralization he came into conflict with Maximilian, the leader of the House of Hapsburg. Maximilian skillfully snatched away the so-called Free County (Franche-Comté), the Netherlands and some of the fiefs at which Louis was aiming. Thus at the opening of the sixteenth century France found herself bordered by districts, which were inhabited by peoples with a French civilization and a historical tradition of having been part of France, but nominally were possessed either by the Hapsburgs, or the Empire, or by some other foreign power. During the years that followed, the dynasties of Valois and then of Bourbon tried to take what possessions they could from the Hapsburgs, and also recover other French territories. When Louis XIV came to the throne there still remained much to be done. Consequently he alone was not responsible for the wars which he fought — he merely continued an old, old policy. As the limits to expansion he set the natural boundaries of France — the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees. A second general cause for his wars was his insatiable lust for glory. He wanted to be the king who completed this great task of giving France her " just " boundaries. He would be known as the greatest conqueror in history!

B. War of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667–1668

1. Cause

The first of his wars was the War of the Spanish Netherlands. Its immediate cause was Louis' claim that in the Netherlands there was a peculiar law known as the law of devolution, that when a man had two wives, the inheritance of his property devolved upon the children of the first to the exclusion of those of the second. Consequently Louis asserted that his wife, being the only child of the first wife of Philip IV, was the rightful heir to the Spanish Netherlands. This was only an excuse, for the law of devolution had never been applied to political inheritances either in the Netherlands or anywhere else. It was merely a good technical pretext for not waiting till the feeble Charles II died to acquire this territory, which was French in culture and tradition.

2. Campaign

The campaign was little more than a military pageant, brilliant but brutal. Louis had an army far superior to anything in the Spanish Netherlands, and it was quite unnecessary to fight;

yet having such a beautiful toy he wanted to see how it worked. It was not a war of pitched battles but of sieges, in which Louis encamped his huge army around some city with a total population less than his military force, and attacked it with elaborate strategy. After it had fallen, as it could not fail to do, there was a glorious parade, in which the grand monarch, surrounded by his mistresses and marshals, proudly received the adulations of the multitudes for his " marvelous " conquest. Then, when the summer season was over, he returned to Paris like a business man returning from a vacation, and never seemed to realize that he left behind him corpses that had once been young men with all the joy of life before them; needlessly broken hearts with a sorrow that could never be forgotten; and hatred that would cause still more useless bloodshed. During the winter an alliance was formed by England, Sweden and the Dutch Republic called the Triple Alliance. It was not formed as a threat to make Louis stop the war. It merely demanded that he be content with what he had conquered, and it convinced Spain that there was no hope of real help from the other powers. Louis generously offered to be content with either his conquests in the Netherlands or with the Free County, which he had also occupied, and Spain decided to give him the fortresses in the Netherlands which he had taken. Historians have never been able to explain confidently why Louis was satisfied with so little when he might have had so much, but it is probable that one reason was that he expected Charles II to die in a few months and then he would have it all anyway. Besides, he was influenced no doubt by Lionne, who was a good enough diplomat to know the value of appearing magnanimous. However, the months, and even the years passed; Charles II did not die; and the result was a second war.

1668

3. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668

C. Dutch War, 1672–1678

1. Causes

The second war waged by Louis was the Dutch War. It has been customary to state that Louis attacked the Dutch for revenge, because they stopped him in the War of the Spanish Netherlands. However, it is doubtful whether this was his real motive, for he was perfectly able to keep on fighting against all Europe, if he had wished. It is more probable that when he saw that Charles II still hesitated to die, he realized that he must resort to war to gain the territories he sought. This was no disappointment, because he loved war. It was also evident that his real enemy was not the decrepit country of Spain, but the Dutch Republic — the most wealthy, the most powerful nation in Europe next to France. If he would have things his own way, he must first humble the Dutch, and then the rest would be easy.

2. Three periods a. Diplomatic campaign 1670

The war was divided into three clearly marked periods. The first was the diplomatic campaign which preceded military activities and in which Lionne successfully isolated the Dutch. The King of England was made an ally of France by the Treaty of Dover, and the princes of the Empire were induced to make similar alliances, by which they agreed to remain neutral. The second period was an invasion of the Dutch Republic, in which the superb French army marched down the Rhine almost without opposition, while the Dutch yielded in stupefied terror. They offered abject terms of submission. Unfortunately for Louis the wise Lionne was dead, and at the foolish advice of Louvois he not only refused them but demanded impossible concessions. The Dutch were thus spurred to fight for their lives. They chose as their leader the young William of Orange, great-grandson of William the Silent; cut the dykes; and with the aid of the sea drove out the French army. Then the third period of the war began.

b. Invasion, May–Aug., 1672

c. Attack on Spain, 1674–1678

An alliance was formed under the leadership of the emperor, and Louis turned his attention to the conquest of the Spanish territories still remaining between France and her natural boundaries. There were long, bloody campaigns in which hundreds of soldiers died bravely without deciding anything. The war was really decided when Louis bribed the Dutch to desert the allies who had come to their aid, and hostilities ended much to Louis' advantage with the Treaty of Nimwegen, 1678. He was given the Free County, and in the Spanish Netherlands the boundary of France was established practically on the same line which it follows today.

Aug. 10, 1678

VIII. Conclusion

The Treaty of Nimwegen, 1678, marked the high tide of the greatness of France under Louis XIV. Had he then adopted a policy of peace, and followed a wise economic policy, he might have achieved his ambition of being remembered as the greatest king in French history. Unfortunately he turned instead to a vicious religious persecution, a horrible continuation of unnecessary wars, and a disastrous waste of the economic resources of France. In a few years evidences of decline began to show themselves, and the rest of the reign of Louis XIV was a story of increasing misery for the people of France.

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CHAPTER XV

THE WARS OF THE PALATINATE AND THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

I. War of the Palatinate, 1688–1697
A. Causes
1. French aggression

1681

2. League of Augsburg, July, 1686

3. Dispute over Cologne, 1688

After the Dutch War, Louis was chiefly guided by the counsels of Louvois, a militarist whose chief ambition was expansion by conquest. Louis needed little urging, for such a policy was just to his taste. After the Treaty of Nimwegen he adopted a different type of conquest — conquest by technicalities and the violation of treaties. He claimed that the lands given France by the Treaties of Westphalia and Nimwegen carried with them seigniorial rights over other lands. These claims he laid before special courts organized for that purpose called Chambers of Reunion, and since the courts were composed of Frenchmen they invariably rendered decisions in favor of France. Thus Louis acquired one small territory after another and gradually pushed his boundaries toward the Rhine. Not content with technicalities, he advanced to other measures. For instance, in the case of Strasbourg there were no treaty rights, so he bribed the city to consent to annexation to France, and thus took it away from the Empire. He adopted a domineering attitude toward small countries on his border and dictated the way in which they should manage their internal affairs. Finally, enough people were injured by these petty attacks to arouse general discontent, and the League of Augsburg was formed for defense against him by the emperor, Spain, Sweden and most of the German princes. Fighting actually started when the pope refused to permit Louis' candidate to be elected to the archbishopric of Cologne and Louis resorted to war.

B. Events
1. Devastation of Palatinate, 1689

There were three important developments in the war, of which the first was the devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate by the troops of Louis. With ruthless and unnecessary barbarity they burned, plundered and killed until the land was a smoking waste. One reason for such ferocity was that the district was inhabited by Calvinists. Thousands of these were forced to take refuge in North America. There most of them settled in Pennsylvania and became known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, renowned for their industriousness and agricultural ability. From this devastation the war received the name of the War of the Palatinate.

2. Entry of England

The second important development was the entry of England on the side of the allies. James II, King of England before the war, had received a pension from Louis, but in spite of this he was not friendly to the French monarch, and it is probable that he would have fought against him. When James was overthrown and William III put upon the throne, the latter of course did everything in his power to persuade the English to help in the resistance to French conquest. There was really little reason why the English people should have taken part in the conflict, until Louis unwisely gave them a motive when he took the side of James II and provided him with an army to invade Ireland. In religion, commerce and colonies the two countries were antagonistic, and after the war began Louis constantly threatened England with invasion. Thus England was forced to fight in self-defense, and it was not long before she proved to be France's most formidable antagonist.

3. Indecisive fighting

The third important feature of the war was indecisive fighting. William III was the chief leader of the allied army and Marshal Luxembourg of the French. There were battles on land and battles on sea — many of them bloody battles where men fought and died like heroes, and yet practically nothing was decided. For instance, in the battle of Neerwinden, the last great French victory and the bloodiest, Luxembourg drove William III from his position, but he was unable to follow up the victory and in a few weeks William was as strong as ever. On the whole there were few large battles, but much plundering, and much marching back and forth here and there, while the hideous horrors of war dragged on. It was finally brought to an end by the exhaustion of the financial resources of France and England more than by any other cause. Louis

July 19, 1693

was gaining nothing by war; he thought he might do well to try diplomacy for a change; and William was of the same mind. Together they forced the other countries to make the Peace of Ryswick, and the War of the Palatinate came to an end.

C. Peace of Ryswick, 1697

Of the many provisions of the Peace of Ryswick the most important one was that France was allowed to keep Strasbourg, but gave up all the other territory she had secured since the Treaty of Nimwegen. This meant that French expansion was checked for the first time in a hundred and fifty years. Cologne, the cause for which the war was begun, was not even mentioned in the treaty.

II. Economic advances in England

During the War of the Palatinate England made an economic advance which was of greater value to the rest of the world, as well as to England, than all the battles in the war put together. This advance was the product of the principle established in the Revolutionary Settlement that the finances of the state should be separate from the personal finances of the king. Up until that time there had been no state treasury in any kingdom — there had been only the king's treasury, and he paid the expenses of the government. The new principle of a national treasury made necessary a new type of financial organization for the government, and two important features of this type of organization were first developed in England. One of these was the permanent national debt. The nation was desperately in need of money to carry on the war. The goldsmiths, who usually loaned money on such occasions, were unwilling to provide enough, because William's credit was not good, and yet it happened that there was so much capital in the country unable to find a safe investment that people were hiding gold in the ground. At the suggestion of Lord Halifax a group of rich men loaned the state a million pounds, and in return the state promised a fixed annual interest without setting any date for repayment. Before this the money borrowed by the state had always been a royal debt, contracted personally by the king and intended to be repaid, if the king was honest. Now the debt was contracted by the nation and the capital was never intended to be repaid. The person who

A. Permanent national debt, 1693

loaned the money might regain it by selling his debt to somebody else, or at times the nation might reduce the amount of the total debt by repaying part of it, but there was always intended to be a debt.

B. Bank of England

The other feature of the new type of state financial organization was the Bank of England. This was also caused by the surplus of capital seeking investment, and the attempt to provide more adequate means of investment than existed at that time. Before this, people with more money on hand than they were able to keep safely would give it to a goldsmith, because he usually had strong boxes; the goldsmith would give them a receipt; and then he in turn would lend the money to somebody else. Now the system was improved by the organization of a corporation called the Bank of England, which loaned the government £1,200,000 and was given in return a fixed, annual interest. This interest was guaranteed by the establishment of a special tax to raise the money. In addition the bank was given a number of privileges, of which the most important was the right to issue bank notes — that is, notes issued by the bank offering to pay the bearer a stated sum and required to be accepted as equivalent to money. In a few years this privilege was made a monopoly and nobody else was allowed to issue bank notes.

C. Results

The establishment of the national debt and the Bank of England had several important results. One result was to make the government far more stable than before. This was because the people who had loaned money to the state or the Bank of England would lose it in case the state was overthrown. Consequently they were not likely to join in a revolution, such as the attempt to put James II back on the throne. Another important result was the supremacy of the Whigs in England. Most of the merchants and other men of the classes possessing movable capital were Whigs, and these institutions gave them the control of the government. For nearly a century they continued to be the dominating party except for a few intervals. A third result was the financial superiority of England in Europe. With such a financial system her government could obtain more money at lower rates of interest than any other nation. In the wars that took place in that century this gave England a big advantage, and in addition to being able to finance her own forces better, she was often able to finance the military activities of her allies. A final important result was the adoption of this financial system by other countries, until today practically every nation of importance has a permanent national debt and a national bank.

III. War of Spanish Succession, 1701–1714

The War of the Palatinate was followed in a few years by the longest, the most terrible and the most useless of all the wars of Louis XIV — the War of the Spanish Succession. The reason why it was the most useless will appear from a study of the three causes of the war. One cause was the problem of the succession to the Spanish throne. This was a very intricate problem and historians have spent a vast amount of energy in trying to unravel its intricacies, just as a child derives pleasure from assembling a puzzle; but the historians' efforts have been largely lost motion, because the details would have made no difference in the final outcome. Charles II, King of Spain, was an invalid from birth and was never expected to live long. His nearest relatives were two sisters — the oldest married to Louis XIV of the dynasty of Bourbon, and the youngest married to Emperor Leopold of the House of Hapsburg. Both had been required to renounce their claim to the Spanish throne upon marriage, because Spain did not want to become a possession of either France or Austria. However, it was easy to find technical reasons for declaring their renunciations invalid, and both the Bourbon and the Hapsburg dynasties claimed the throne for descendants of the two sisters. The rest of Europe looked upon the situation with alarm, because the success of either dynasty in getting the throne meant the formation of another vast empire, like that of Charles V, that would threaten the safety of every other country.

A. Causes

1. Problem of Spanish Succession

2. Partition treaties

Various treaties, known as Partition Treaties, were made dividing the Spanish possessions between the two dynasties. The most important of these treaties were made by William III and Louis XIV just after the War of the Palatinate, when it seemed as if Charles could not possibly live much longer. Either one of these treaties made as satisfactory a settlement of

1698, 1700

the problem as that reached after the long war that followed. Charles, however, was angered by having his possessions divided before his death without consulting him, and he made a will giving everything to the descendant of the emperor. Then under the influence of his advisers he changed his mind and made another will giving everything to Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. Louis realized that the Partition Treaty was more acceptable than the will to Europe as a whole, but still he would have to fight to gain what it gave him. As long as he had to fight anyway, he evidently decided that it would be better to fight for the whole than a part, so he accepted the will and Philip was declared King of Spain. The disappointed emperor at once began war by invading Italy, and formed the Grand Alliance with England and the Dutch Republic.

Oct. 2, 1700

Nov. 16, 1700

Sept. 7, 1701

3. European situation

The second and most important cause of the War of the Spanish Succession was the international situation in Europe. There were two elements in this situation that made war inevitable whether the King of Spain had died childless or not. One element was dynastic governments, that is, governments in which the chief office, usually an absolute one, was hereditary. Being hereditary, there were sure to be occasions in which the direct line failed, rival claimants presented themselves, and there was no acceptable solution of the problem. War was the usual resource, but far from satisfactory, because war could not improve a person's relationship to the last ruler. The hereditary system made the use of reason impossible, and reason being excluded the settlement was sure to be unsatisfactory.

a. Dynastic governments

b. Reign of force

Another element in the situation was the reign of force. Ever since the days of Louis XI France had been expanding, and the usual method of expansion was to take territory by force. She set no limit on this movement of expansion, and consequently the other nations of Europe saw themselves faced with inevitable conquest against which force was the only defense. Any cause would have been just as sufficient to make this fundamental conflict break forth, even if there had been no Spanish succession problem. Moreover, in this era of expansion diplomats had been taught by sad experience that

treaties were never intended to be kept; that there was no such thing as national honor; and consequently that it could not be relied upon as a protection. A universal attitude of distrust had been created. Treaties and promises were still made, but they were only a pretense, because everybody was convinced that the only means of protection was war, and they accepted it as inevitable. The arrangements were all made, and they simply waited for some little dispute to start the action. Once the war started many nations were forced to join in it, not because they were interested in the immediate cause, but because it was the only way to share in the settlement at the end. Besides, it gave them an opportunity to take revenge for old grudges and perhaps also gain something. This tense situation was made worse by the tactlessly offensive conduct of Louis after Philip was made King of Spain. When he should have tried to quiet the fears of the nations, he only gave them good reason to believe their suspicions were justified. He openly declared that Philip and his heirs still kept their claims to the French throne. French troops were put in the Spanish garrisons in the Netherlands, and no concessions were made to
1701 the Dutch. When James II died, his son James was recognized as King of England, and the English merchants were alarmed
1701 by an announcement that henceforth France would be the most-favored nation in trade with the Spanish colonies. This aroused an enthusiasm in England for a war which the English might well have said was none of their affairs. In addition a mass of pamphlets and other propaganda in England created a fear-complex that made the people think they had something for which to fight. Louis was to regret his insulting conduct, for England became by far his most serious opponent in the bitter conflict that ensued.

B. Events

The War of the Spanish Succession might well be called a world war, for it involved most of the important countries of Europe, and it was fought on many fronts and many seas. However, the large events of an influential nature were not numerous. The first was the death of William III soon after war was declared. His place on the throne was taken by Anne Stuart, the second daughter of James II. His place on

1. Death of William III, March 8, 1702

the battlefield was taken by John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough. Marlborough was a man of exceptional abilities. He was also aided by the fact that his wife was the favorite of Queen Anne and gained her support for his policies. The allies had another general of first rank in Prince Eugene of Savoy, while Louis had only one capable commander, the Duke of Vendome.

The war began with a languid offensive by the French aimed at capturing Vienna. They were aided by having Bavaria as their ally. In this campaign Marlborough showed his superlative ability as a strategist by unexpectedly marching from the Netherlands to the valley of the Danube and completely defeating the French at the battle of Blenheim. It was the most disastrous defeat in French history since Pavia. For the allies it not only saved Vienna, but it also forced Bavaria to give up the French alliance. Two years later Marlborough again completely overpowered the French army in the Netherlands by the battle of Ramillies, and drove them back to the border of their country. By subsequent victories he kept them there and even opened up the way to Paris, while Eugene forced them out of northern Italy. Marlborough's military superiority was largely due to the fact that he developed a new system of open warfare by strategic marches, while the French used the old method of sieges. In Spain the allies were not so fortunate. At first they easily defeated Philip. Later they were in turn beaten in battle, and Philip not only recovered the country but also gained the devotion of his people. On the sea the English had complete control.

2. Allied victories

Aug. 13, 1704

1706

1710

Such being the military history of the war, the allies should have gained a treaty of peace with tremendous concessions, but as often happens, the fighting had less to do with the final outcome than some other factors. One of these was the recovery of Louis XIV. After the battle of Blenheim he saw the handwriting on the wall and offered the allies liberal terms of peace. They refused. He offered still greater concessions from time to time, only to have them demand far more in return than could possibly be granted. The result was to stiffen French resistance just as the same treatment had nerved the Dutch to

3. Recovery of Louis XIV

1705

1709

heroic efforts years before. For the first time in his life Louis appealed to his people, and the people in spite of their exhaustion responded so well that their armies even gained ground. At the same time the allies were weakened by jealousy, and the situation began to look more hopeful for France.

4. Party changes in England

The factor which finally brought the war to a close and did more than anything else to save the French from humiliating terms was party changes in England. The Tories opposed the war, and, as it continued to drag on for year after year without any decisive gains, they acquired more and more influence over public opinion. Many people suspected with good reason that Marlborough was deliberately prolonging the war just so as to keep himself in power and to reap a rich harvest of graft from the trade in munitions. Queen Anne had always favored the Tories and now a quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough turned her against the powerful duke. Then an event occurred that aroused public opinion to action. The Whigs prosecuted a preacher named Dr. Sacheverell for attacking the administration of the government. They gave him only a light sentence, but that was going one step too far, for it made him a martyr, and the country boiled with indignation. Queen Anne took advantage of the situation to replace her Whig ministers by Tories, and in the parliamentary elections a few months later, the Tories were triumphant. They lost little time in using their triumph to start separate peace negotiations with France. Although Marlborough won victories while the negotiations were going on, he was dismissed because the people of England wanted not victories but peace. The other nations were forced to fall into line, because without England they were unable to cope with France, and so finally the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713. Even then Austria kept on fighting for a few months until compelled to make peace at Rastadt.

Feb., 1710

1710

Sept., 1710

Jan., 1711

1711

Dec. 31, 1711

1714

C. Treaty of Utrecht, April, 1713

The Treaty of Utrecht was the second great treaty in European history drawn up by a congress of European nations. It did not register the decision already reached on the battlefield. On the contrary it rejected the battlefield as incapable of reaching a decision and turned to the council table as a more

1. Provisions

effective means of settling disputes. Consequently the provisions of the treaty were so influential that they must be known in order to understand the subsequent history of Europe. The best way to learn its provisions is to classify them by the gains which each country made. Spain was given Philip as king on condition that he renounce all claim to the French throne. Austria was given, by the Treaty of Rastadt, the Spanish Netherlands (after this known as the Austrian Netherlands) and several territories in Italy. The Dutch Republic was given various commercial privileges in France and control of some barrier fortresses in the Netherlands as a guarantee against French encroachment. England made the most valuable gains from the war, partly because they were most permanent and partly because they had greatest commercial and strategic value. She was given the fortress of Gibraltar, controlling the western entrance to the Mediterranean; the strategic island of Minorca, giving her a strong base off the coast of France in the Mediterranean; Nova Scotia; Newfoundland; the Hudson Bay region; and, by a treaty commonly called the Asiento, the right to send one ship of merchandise each year to trade with Spanish America in addition to the monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies for thirty years. There were also many other minor provisions, for the Treaty of Utrecht was in reality a large collection of treaties between many different states.

2. Importance

One reason why the Treaty of Utrecht was one of the most important treaties in European history was because at the same time that it made peace it also unfortunately laid the foundation for future strife. During the preceding wars England had replaced the Dutch Republic as the outstanding antagonist of France. The Treaty of Utrecht marked the ending of only the first stage of a struggle in which England and France contended for supremacy in colonies, in commerce and in Europe. This struggle was destined to endure for yet a hundred years, and when the armies and navies were not fighting with guns, the merchants and pioneers were fighting with money and settlements.

The Treaty of Utrecht was followed by the death of two of

IV. Death of Anne and Louis XIV

the sovereigns who fought in the War of the Spanish Succession. Queen Anne died in 1714, and, since she had no children living, the throne passed to the line of James I. The nearest heir in this line was Elector George of Hanover, the grandson of Elizabeth, the daughter of James, who had married the Elector of the Palatinate. He became George I of England and founded the new dynasty of Hanover. In the next year, 1715, Louis XIV died of a disease which any medical practitioner could cure today. His thirst for glory, grandeur and power brought upon him and his country misery, humiliation and loss. He was followed by his great-grandson, Louis XV, who was so young that for a time the country had to be ruled by a regent.

Sept. 1, 1715

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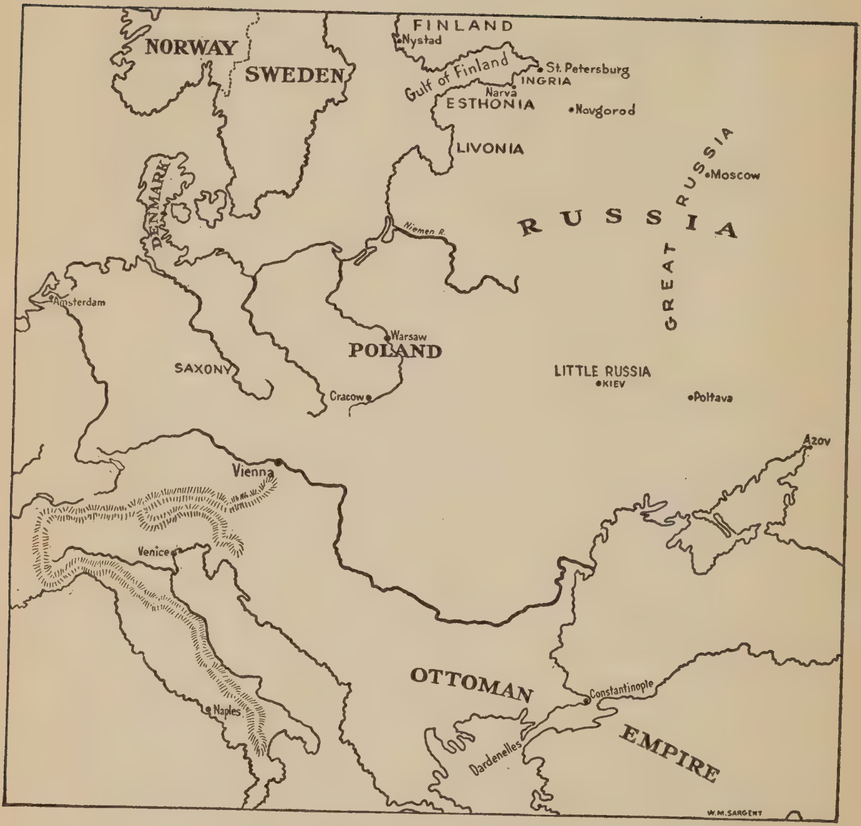

NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Nystad
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
INGRIA
Narva
ESTHONIA
Novgorod
LIVONIA
GREAT RUSSIA
Moscow
RUSSIA
DENMARK
Niemen R.
Amsterdam
Warsaw
POLAND
SAXONY
Cracow
LITTLE RUSSIA
KIEV
Poltava
Azov
Vienna
Venice
Naples
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Dardenelles
W.M.SARGENT

The Rise of Russia

CHAPTER XVI

RUSSIA BECOMES A EUROPEAN NATION

I. Geography

Europe east of the Carpathian Mountains and the Niemen River is a series of great, vast plains stretching far away until they are interrupted by the Ural Mountains. Then they continue on again deep into Asia. Across these plains nature has provided wide avenues in the form of magnificent rivers that sweep majestically over the land, some northward and some southward. But nature has failed to provide this portion of the earth's surface with sufficient natural boundaries to separate the peoples who inhabit it from the peoples in either Europe or Asia. Consequently in the Middle Ages an artificial one was constructed which separated it from Europe and made it part of Asia.

II. Medieval Russia
A. Invasion of the Northmen

The Northmen who swept over western Europe invaded this vast plain also, and in the ninth century a band under the leadership of a man named Rurik were invited to come to the prosperous commercial cities of Novgorod and Kiev. They were given control of the government in return for providing protection, and were commonly called Russians. In the years that followed they extended their control over a much wider area, and eventually this area was divided into two districts named after them Little Russia and Great Russia. In the next century the religion of Greek Catholicism was generally accepted throughout the land. Since the chief official of the Greek Catholic Church (sometimes called the Orthodox Church) was the Patriarch of Constantinople, this religion naturally brought the people of Russia under the influence of Byzantine culture.

B. Tartar invasion, 1243–1328

The Tartars were the next to invade the land, and soon subjected it to the rule of the Great Khan in far-away China. Their conquest was not only tributary, but also cultural, and under their rule this vast area became to all practical purposes a part of Asia. To the people of Europe it was as unknown and distant in thought as China or India.

C. Muscovites

The Tartars were gradually displaced by the Muscovites. This was because the Tartar rulers favored the princes of the city of Moscow. To them they gave the right to collect the common tribute levied on the whole country, and to this they added other privileges until the princes of Moscow were able to extend their sway over a large area known as Muscovy. Thus the center of the land shifted from Kiev and Novgorod to Moscow, and this tended still more to separate it from Europe. Finally the Muscovites became so strong that they revolted against the Tartars and under the leadership of Ivan III overthrew their control. Ivan was a powerful prince and conquered practically all of the central portion of the vast plain. One of his most important acts was to marry the daughter of the eastern emperor, who had been driven from Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. In addition he took the title of Tsar, or Caesar, of Russia. By the title " Tsar " he meant not that he was the successor of the emperor, but that he was one of the most important princes of the Empire. By the name " Russia " he meant that he ruled not only over the principality of Moscow, but also over the whole vast plain of Russia. Nevertheless the names of Muscovy and Muscovites were still used interchangeably with Russia and Russians. Ivan also adopted as his emblem the emblem of the eastern emperor — the double-headed eagle — and regarded himself as the protector of the Greek Catholic Church. By the end of his reign modern Russia had come into existence.

1462–1505

III. Modern Russia

A. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

1. Absolutism

(1547–1584)

The first period of the history of Russia in modern times covers roughly the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this period the form of government developed into an extreme absolutism. The first great tsar of modern times to contribute to this development was Ivan the Terrible (i.e. to be feared). He was a man with the atrocious cruelty of a maniac and with all the cunning of the wolves that roamed the plains over which he ruled. His aim was to centralize all power in the hands of the tsar, and in order to do that he had to subdue the nobles. This he accomplished by establishing feudalism and yet making the feudal nobles absolutely dependent upon the monarch. Later serfdom was also introduced in order to keep the peasants from deserting the lands which they found it impossible to cultivate with any profit. One of the most important events in the growth of Russian absolutism was the foundation of the Romanoff dynasty, which ruled the nation from that time until the World War.

c. 1650

1613

2. Church

The church in Russia was closely connected with the state. Back in the fourteenth century the metropolitan, who was the chief officer, took up his residence in Moscow along with the Prince of Muscovy. Toward the end of the sixteenth century the Patriarchate of Moscow was created, thus giving the head of the church a higher position. On the whole, the church was hampered by an extreme conservative fidelity to forms, and by the ignorance of the clergy. In the seventeenth century the patriarch attempted to bring it up to date by revising the liturgy to conform more accurately with the forms used elsewhere in the Greek Catholic Church. The result was a schism, and people disputed violently over such childish matters as whether the sign of the cross should continue to be made with two fingers, or should be made with three, because there were three persons in the Trinity. Another subject of great dissension was the correct spelling in Russian for the name of Jesus. Since the state took the side of reform, those who objected to the changes were forced to leave and settle in the vast tracts of land yet undeveloped. There they formed a party of dissenters of various kinds that at the opening of the twentieth century numbered more than fifteen millions.

1589

3. European relations

One of the most important features of Russian history in the period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the beginning of relations with Europe. In civilization and politics Russia was a part of Asia. The people wore the long, flowing garments of the Orient rather than the fitted garments of the West. The men wore full beards and cut their hair very short. The women were confined in special apartments and never attended a public gathering at which men were present. On the street their faces were covered with veils. The European states bordering on Russia did their best to prevent any contacts with Europe, because they hoped in that way to keep the country weak. 1553–1554 Nevertheless in the middle of the sixteenth century Russia was discovered by Sir Hugh Willoughby, an English merchant looking for a northern route to the Orient. After he returned to England he organized the Muscovy Company for trading with Russia, and it was not long before Holland and other nations also began to trade there. At first the merchants were mainly interested in finding an overland route to India, but in the process they built up a profitable trade in Russian commodities. Then war began between Poland and Russia, and since there was no natural boundary between the two countries, there was a long, intermittent struggle for over a century to see whether Poland would swallow Russia or Russia would swallow Poland. Russia was the victor in the end. Russia also began diplomatic relations with the states of Europe, and though her envoys were for a long time curiosities rather than diplomats, the contacts they established meant that Russia must eventually become a European country. Many Europeans went to live in Russia, and so many Germans settled in Moscow that a special suburb of the city was reserved for them.

B. Peter I (1682–1725)

1. Personality

The man who did more than anybody else to make Russia a European country was Peter I, who called himself Peter the Great, and after that nobody dared to call him anything else. Undoubtedly he did exercise a great influence on the history of his country, but much that he did would have been done anyway, and he only opened wide a door that would have been pushed open had he even tried to keep it closed. Of all the important men in history it is doubtful if any can claim a more detestable personality. He was a great big brute of a man over six feet and a half tall, and he took a fiendish delight in bullying other men who happened to be smaller in size and position. He was afflicted with epilepsy and was constantly twitching his hands and face. Yet in spite of his physical handicaps, he worked with desperation for fear that he could not establish his own policies so firmly before his death that they could not be swept away. Not satisfied with being a despot all his life he wanted to continue ruling after his death.

So violent was his temper and so beastly were his emotions that on one occasion in which his dead uncle was remotely connected with a conspiracy on his life, he had the body dug up, drawn by swine to the scaffold and splashed with the blood of the men executed for the conspiracy. When his son and heir Alexis showed a literary turn of mind and a distaste for the restless policies of his father, Peter abused him so that the young prince fled for refuge to Naples. He was induced to return by promises of pardon for himself and his companions, but the promises were broken ruthlessly, he was tortured and flogged to make him admit an imaginary conspiracy, and finally sentenced to death. When Peter announced the sentence to him, the poor prince was such a nervous wreck that the shock killed him — a martyr to the ferocity of a perfidious father. On the other hand Peter conscientiously tried to rule for the best interests of his country and chose as one of his goals the Europeanization of Russia.

2. Introduction of Western civilization 1695–1696

a. Army and navy

In introducing Western civilization Peter was particularly anxious to improve his army and navy. His first important war was undertaken against the Turks in the effort to secure a portion of the shore of the Black Sea. In this expedition he was successful largely because of the use of European military equipment and methods of shipbuilding. He captured Azov and built a strong naval base near-by. Then he decided that he must tour Europe in an effort to build up an alliance against the Turks and also to learn all that he could about its civilization. With him he took fifty young men of the best Russian families, and they paid special attention to the military and naval systems of the lands they visited. In Holland Peter even worked in the shipyards as a common laborer. At the same time he asked endless questions about everything else — museums, hospitals, religion, schools and customs. While he was on his way to Venice he received news in Vienna that the national militia had revolted. The revolt was a protest by a shiftless and highly privileged body of soldiers against the introduction of a new system that meant hard work and efficiency. It was easily suppressed by the much better trained foreign mercenaries, but Peter thought it best to return. He

1697–1698

June 6, 1698

amused himself by personally torturing, beheading and hanging the prisoners until his clothes were spattered with blood. In place of the militia he built up a standing army trained and equipped according to the best methods of Europe. With this weapon in his hand he had no cause to fear revolts, for he was far superior to any contemporary force that the rebels might organize against him.

b. Social customs

Aug. 27, 1699

1700

He also introduced the social customs of Europe, often by brute force. One day he lined up all the chief men outside his lodge in the suburbs of Moscow, grabbed a pair of scissors and himself cut off their beards. Then he decreed that anybody who wore a beard would have to pay a tax. He also abolished the long, flowing garments of the East and decreed that anybody who did not wear the short garments of Europe would have to pay a tax or else down upon their knees they must go and have their clothes cut off where they reached the ground. Women were commanded to come forth from the apartments where they were secluded and to associate publicly with men. Nobles were ordered to hold parties for both sexes and people were forced to attend them. These and many other changes were made — most of them shocking to the decency of the people, but forced upon them nevertheless. New Year's Day was changed from September 1 to January 1, so that the year in Russia might coincide with that in the rest of Europe.

Jan. 1, 1699

c. Education

1707

1703

Education was likewise reorganized according to European models, and schools were established. No gentleman was allowed to marry until he was educated. Peter was especially interested in technical and mechanical schools so as to encourage shipbuilding and the various military sciences. He himself revised the alphabet and eliminated a number of useless letters. An Academy of Science was established and the first Russian newspaper appeared.

d. Economic life

1725

Peter made many attempts to improve economic life, and perhaps the most important was the reform of the coinage. In addition commercial companies were organized, landowners were encouraged to operate mines where any valuable minerals were to be found on their property, and the peasants were even ordered to use scythes instead of sickles in reaping their wheat.

An attempt was also made to establish a public health system with inspectors and hospitals. 1706

e. Opposition

Of course the introduction of all these elements of Western civilization met with tremendous opposition, because it was so contrary to all the customs of the people, but there was no effective attempt at resistance. The Russians were compelled to submit as best they could, because Peter had an army at hand that could quickly crush all rebellion, he was far too vigorous to be caught napping, and most important of all he had the trend of history on his side. Unfortunately he was most attracted by the worst features of European civilization, and many of the things he introduced were far more of an injury than a benefit to his country. About seventy per cent of his revenues were spent on war and preparations for war, and the system of government which he learned from European countries was by no means an unmixed blessing. On the whole it may well be questioned whether the total effect of Peter's efforts to Europeanize Russia was good or evil.

3. Absolute monarchy

a. System of government

Peter's second aim was to make the absolute monarchy in Russia as autocratic and efficient as possible. At the time that Peter came to the throne absolute monarchy was the prevailing type of government in Europe, and commonly regarded as the best one. The parliamentary type achieved in England had not yet shown the superiority that it was to demonstrate in the War of the Spanish Succession and throughout the eighteenth century. Consequently it was only natural that Peter with his despotic instincts should develop a system of government in Russia resembling that established by Richelieu in France. At the top of the system was the tsar, and to give himself greater prestige Peter took the title "Emperor of All Russia." Oct. 22, 1721 This indicated that he was the direct successor of the Emperor of Rome, who had been driven out of Constantinople in 1453, and who was theoretically superior to all other European rulers. To assist the emperor and rule the state in his absence was a council. The different departments of the government, such as mining, navy and artillery, were placed under ministers who were members of the council and controlled their actions. The empire was divided into eight districts, 1708 each under a governor corresponding to the *intendant* in France. These districts were divided into smaller districts, and these again into local units still smaller. The cities were given a special organization. 1703 As the capital of the empire Peter built at enormous expense an entirely new city near the Gulf of Finland, and with what suggests characteristic egotism called it St. Petersburg. It was a deliberate attempt to get away from the restraint of traditions in Moscow, and many of its features were a direct imitation of European civilization; for example, the ending " burg " was German, not Russian, and the location among the marshes was an imitation of the location of two of the most successful ports of Europe — Venice and Amsterdam. One thing Peter was not able to do in revising the system of government was to eliminate peculation. He tried hard, but the system was too deeply rooted for even his mighty grasp to remove it.

b. The church

In order to have a completely absolute monarchy it was necessary to bring the church entirely under the domination of the tsar, and this Peter did by abolishing the office of patriarch and establishing in place of it a board called the Holy Synod. This board was made subject to the council. In addition he 1701 confiscated the lands of the monasteries, just as Henry VIII had done in England.

4. Outlet to the sea

Peter's third policy was to gain for Russia a seaport which should not be frozen up part of the year. During his tour in Europe he realized that it would be impossible to organize a league against the Turks, because just then Europe was giving all its energies to the struggle over the Spanish Succession. Without a league against the Turks it was hopeless to look for a seaport in the south, because the Black Sea was throttled by the straits at Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Consequently Russia must turn instead to the Baltic Sea, but there the eastern shore was in the possession of Sweden, one of the most powerful military nations of Europe. Nevertheless circumstances made it more advisable for Peter to fight Sweden than the Ottoman Empire.

IV. Sweden
A. Territorial growth

Sweden had gained possession of the eastern shore of the Baltic during the reign of that outstanding general Gustavus

Adolphus. More territories in the Holy Roman Empire were secured by the Treaty of Westphalia, and a few years later the Baltic came very close to being a Swedish lake, as Gustavus 1661 Adolphus had intended it should. At that time Sweden ranked as one of the first powers of Europe, but this position was insecure, because it rested upon military superiority and not upon large resources of population or money. Besides, most of the people in the territories acquired were of a foreign race, with no native affection for Sweden, and the neighboring countries were waiting hungrily till the time should come when they might bite off some of these lands for themselves. Denmark, Poland, Russia and various states of the Empire cherished a grudge against the victorious Swedes. For a time it looked as if their grudge would gain them nothing, for during the Dutch War they attacked Sweden only to be repulsed by Charles XI, 1672–1678 who unexpectedly developed a courage and ability as a general that won many victories. Then he showed himself equally capable in time of peace, and not only built up the army, but also restored the finances of the country, established absolute monarchy in undisputed power, and started an era of prosperity.

B. Great Northern War, 1699–1721

1. League against Sweden, 1699

2. Charles XII (1697–1718)

3. Events

When Charles XI died leaving a son, Charles XII, only fifteen years old, the enemies of Sweden thought they saw their opportunity at last, and a League against her was formed by Denmark, Saxony, Poland and Russia. Thus they began the Great Northern War, but Charles XII in spite of his youth proved to be a military genius of the very first order. He was a boy with a peculiar personality — taciturn and obstinate, yet at the same time courteous and gifted with a prodigious memory. Unfortunately he was interested almost exclusively in war, and showed a brilliance in the handling of armies that would have been completely disastrous for his enemies had he been equally brilliant as a diplomat. First Charles attacked Denmark and forced her to make a separate peace before the other members of the League realized what had happened. Then he turned upon Peter, who was besieging Narva thinking that Charles was many miles away. The tsar was caught in a trap. Although he had 40,000 troops and the Swedish king only 8000, he knew that the Russians were far inferior in discipline, Nov. 20, 1700 and escaped before the battle even started. The army he deserted was cut to pieces. Next Charles defeated Poland and captured both Warsaw and Cracow, but he made one of those serious errors in diplomacy that robbed his brilliant career of success. He insisted that Augustus, the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, should be deposed from the throne of Poland to which he had been elected. Though by military force he made 1706 Augustus agree, his act was so despotic that it forced Poland to seek revenge as soon as the luck of the Swedish king began to turn. But Charles' luck seemed to be endless, for year after year the war went on and with small armies he easily defeated far larger forces.

Meanwhile Peter had invaded and conquered the Swedish provinces on the eastern shore of the Baltic. After Charles had defeated Poland the proper policy would have been to drive the Russians out, but again he made the mistake of being too ambitious. He planned to invade Russia and strike at the very heart of his enemy. So he marched on and on across the vast plains while disease and cold thinned the ranks of his army. Even then Peter did not dare to attack him, until finally Charles May 11, 1709 laid siege to the small town of Poltava far south of Moscow. Though by that time the Russian army was four times as large as the Swedish remnant, Peter would not have given battle had not Charles been wounded in the foot while reconnoitring. Then the Russians closed in, and after a three days' June 27–29, 1709 battle with superior guns to aid them finally annihilated the invaders, while Charles escaped to Turkey. There he remained for five years vainly trying to induce the Turks to undertake an energetic campaign against the Russians. War did 1711 begin and there was some fighting, but Peter bought them off by surrendering Azov. The tsar was a good enough diplomat to realize that his real fight was in the north, not in the south.

Nov. 11, 1715 After Charles returned to Sweden he was never able to recover the ground he had lost, for Sweden's slender resources were exhausted. Still he continued fighting battle after battle, winning useless victories against terrible odds, and always hoping Dec. 12, 1718 to turn the tide. Finally he was killed while besieging a little town in Norway, and Sweden made peace with her many

4. Peace

enemies. Practically all of the conquests made since the accession of Gustavus Adolphus were surrendered. The territories in the Holy Roman Empire were given to various princes there. The Baltic provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria and part of Finland were ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Nystad, 1721, which marked the final end of the war. Peter had achieved his aim of an outlet to the sea in the north.

V. Conclusion: continuation of Peter's policies

Jan. 27, 1725

All through his life Peter I was haunted by the fear that the opposition to his policies, that was afraid to assert itself while he was alive, would rise up after he was dead and overthrow all that he had done. In 1725 the death which he feared came upon him, but Russia still continued to be a European country, and made little change in the policies which he had instituted. The rulers who succeeded him upon the throne for a generation were neither strong personalities nor long-lived. Why then did his achievements endure? The reason was that they were not the achievements of Peter alone but of a powerful group of men who aided him. Most of them he either imported or trained and consequently after he died there was a machine still in existence which continued to run after the builder was gone. Besides, the rest of Europe had discovered Russia, geographically, commercially and politically. For Russia to break away and become an unknown part of Asia again was as impossible as for India, America or any other part of the new world into which Europeans were expanding to become unknown once more.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE RIVALRY OF PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

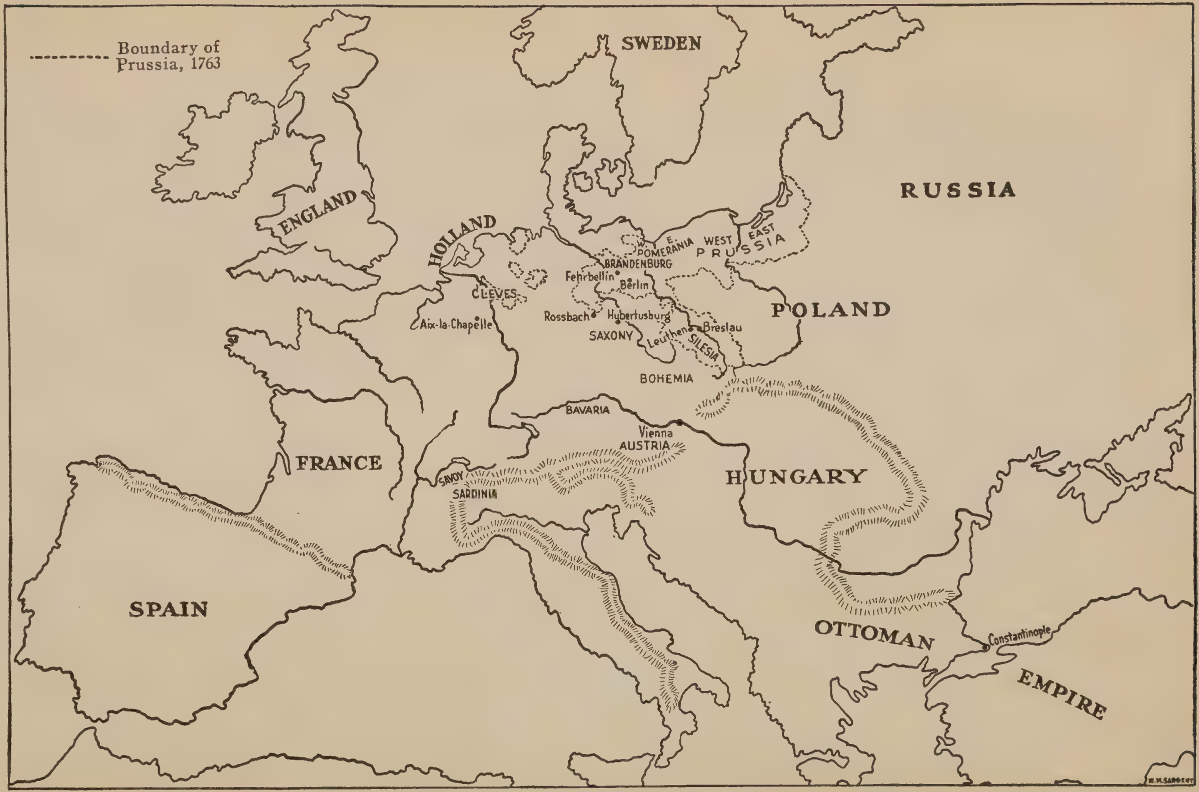
I. Rise of Prussia

A. Brandenburg

One of the most important of the principalities of the Holy Roman Empire at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Brandenburg. It had originally been established as a frontier district to defend the boundary of the Empire along the Elbe, and in the centuries that followed had extended its control over the flat, sandy land between that river and the Oder. Its count was made one of the seven electors of the Empire, and, when the line died out about a century before modern times, the electorate was given to the House of Hohenzollern by the emperor as a reward for faithful service. 1415 From that time each member of the family of Hohenzollern managed to add at least a little land to their possessions, and in the first part of the seventeenth century two very important territories were gained. One of these was the duchy of Cleves on the Rhine, which, together with some smaller adjoining districts, was inherited just before the Thirty Years' War began. 1614 The other was the duchy of East Prussia. Prussia was a district lying around the shore of the southeast corner of the Baltic Sea. In the days of the crusades it had been conquered by the military order of the Teutonic Knights. 1283 They in turn were forced to cede West Prussia to the King of Poland, and to acknowledge him as overlord of East Prussia. 1466 The post of Grand Master of the order was obtained through marriage by a member of the House of Hohenzollern. In the first years of the Reformation Grand Master Albert of Hohenzollern dissolved the order, and took the title of "Duke of Prussia" as a vassal of the King of Poland. 1525 About a century later his line died out, and the duchy was inherited in the first part of the Thirty Years' War by the branch of the Hohenzollerns who ruled in Brandenburg.

B. Makers of modern Prussia

During the Thirty Years' War Brandenburg played a rather ignominious part, being devastated in turn by both Catholics


Boundary of Prussia, 1763
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
ENGLAND
HOLLAND
W. POMERANIA
E. POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
Fehrbellin
Berlin
CLEVES
Aix-la-Chapelle
Rossbach
Hubertusburg
SAXONY
Leuthen
Breslau
SILESIA
POLAND
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SAVOY
SARDINIA
SPAIN
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople

THE RIVALRY OF PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

and Protestants. Toward the close of the conflict there came into power a new elector who was the first of a line of rulers that may justly be called the makers of modern Prussia. This was a young man of twenty years named Frederick William. He was a statesman of exceptional abilities, and nothing proved this better than the fact that he had four clearly defined policies. The first of these policies was to build up the internal prosperity of his country, so sadly injured by the Thirty Years' War. It was no small task, for there was little left with which to make a start; nevertheless he was not dismayed. He improved agriculture by bringing in Dutch settlers who showed the people how to build canals, drain the marshes and carry on profitable dairy farming. Industry and commerce were aided by various mercantilistic regulations that were sometimes injurious but always intended to be stimulating. Frederick William wanted to organize great trading companies like those in England and Holland, but unfortunately his impoverished principality lacked the necessary capital either for that or the founding of colonies. One of his wisest measures was the establishment of religious toleration. Catholics were allowed to live in the land and even Jews were permitted to come back. Most important of all, the Huguenots were invited to settle in Brandenburg when they were driven out of France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and they made a tremendous contribution to the prosperity of the country, for many of them were experts in agriculture, industry, commerce, education, medicine and other activities.

1. Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640–1688)

a. Internal improvements

Frederick William's second policy was the centralization of the government of his scattered possessions. At the various times when these different territories had been acquired by the electors of Brandenburg, they had not been made a part of Brandenburg, but, in accordance with the feudal idea of government, each had remained a separate unit merely added to the personal possessions of the same man. Each had its own separate administrative system and laws, thus greatly increasing the complicated task of ruling them, and making unity of action almost impossible. Since this had been the situation for generations, they naturally opposed any attempt to make

b. Centralization

them a part of Brandenburg, because that looked like a loss of independence. Nevertheless, Frederick William essayed to give them a central administration of the French, absolutist type, and began by establishing a common system of finances and a common army. One treasury was established for all his possessions, the taxes from all were paid into it, and its funds were spent to maintain an army, roads and other common benefits for all.

c. Strong standing army

One of the reasons why the elector was so determined to have a centralized administration was because it was essential to the success of his third policy — a strong standing army. Though he tried to keep Brandenburg at peace as long as possible, he maintained an army ready for instant service in time of peace as well as in time of war. The actual size of his army was not so great, but it was large in proportion to the population of his lands. It was well trained, and it put the elector in a position where he could compel obedience from his subjects. Besides, his assistance in time of war could be of great value to stronger countries, and likewise his enmity could be used as a serious threat.

d. Foreign policy

Finally, his foreign policy was to protect Brandenburg and, if possible, the Empire from the encroachment of foreign nations. This was no easy problem, for at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, the devastated Empire was practically helpless, and the surrounding nations were planning to seize more of its territory. Consequently the elector's conduct was often vacillating, while his fundamental policy remained the same. By the Treaty of Westphalia he gained Eastern Pomerania, and a few years afterwards he induced Poland to relinquish all control over East Prussia. In the Dutch War he fought against France and Sweden, and at Fehrbellin won the first great victory in Prussian military history — a victory which gained him the popular title of the "Great Elector." Immediately after the war he made an alliance with France, and then after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, he once more turned against France and joined the League of Augsburg. By such a shifty policy he failed to gain very much territory, but he did make three other gains of no small im-

1648

1660

June 28, 1675

portance — the territory of Brandenburg was kept intact, Poland relinquished all control over East Prussia, and Brandenburg attained a position of prestige in Europe.

2. Frederick I (1688–1713)

Frederick, the son of Frederick William the Great Elector, was not a man of the dynamic energy of his father, but in general he continued his father's policies and Brandenburg continued to prosper. Frederick's one great contribution to the making of modern Prussia was the title "King in Prussia." At that time the princes of the Empire had a passion for increasing their importance by gaining the title of "king." For instance, the Elector of Saxony was elected King of Poland and the Elector of Bavaria claimed to be King of Spain. Frederick asked the emperor's consent to take the title "King in Prussia," but the emperor would not consent until the need of help in the War of the Spanish Succession made him sell his permission. Then with tremendous display Frederick crowned himself Frederick I, King in Prussia. He used the preposition *in* instead of *of* because West Prussia was still a part of Poland and so it was not correct to call himself "King of Prussia." Later, however, the Hohenzollerns acquired West Prussia and with it a change in title to "King of Prussia." Frederick took the title "King in Prussia" rather than "King of Brandenburg," because Prussia was not a part of the Empire, and so the title acknowledged no subjection to the emperor. Naturally the less-glorious title "Elector of Brandenburg" was soon overshadowed, and it was not long before all the possessions of the King of Prussia became known as Prussia, though strictly speaking the name belonged only to a part of them.

June 18, 1701

3. Frederick William I (1713–1740)

Frederick William I of Prussia, the son of Frederick I, was again like his grandfather, the Great Elector, a nation builder. He added nothing new to the policy of the men who had worked before him; he merely applied it more thoroughly. His motto was economy and efficiency. For instance, no unjust or exorbitant taxes were levied, but a careful assessment was made and payment was strictly enforced. Officials, military and civil, were taught to work and to work hard, because the king himself was indefatigable. Those who were indolent or incompetent were discharged, and thus there was built up a tradition of efficiency in Prussian official circles that has endured down to the present day. Any kind of graft was severely punished and ruthlessly eliminated. His standing army was his pride, and he increased both its numbers and its efficiency to the highest level of his times. One of his peculiarities was a passion for tall soldiers, and he collected them from all over Europe, even paying high prices in many cases for recruits of gigantic stature. Drilling them was one of his favorite occupations, and so frequently did he appear upon the parade ground that he began to be called the "drill-sergeant." Though his army saw very little 1740 real fighting, just the possession of it helped to gain West Pomerania from Sweden after the failure of Charles XII. Thus Prussia increased her territory, economic resources and military power, but this meant rivalry with the state which had long been dominant in the Holy Roman Empire — Austria.

II. Austria

A. Predominance in the Empire

During the Middle Ages Austria had become the largest and most powerful state in the Empire. This predominance was due not only to the fact that the Hapsburgs, who were the archdukes of Austria, were also elected emperors for generation after generation until the office was practically hereditary, but also to the fact that Austria acquired large territories outside of the Empire. One of the most important of these territories was Hungary, 1526 the acquisition of which brought Austria into direct conflict with the Turks.

B. Struggle with Turks

The Turks, called Ottoman Turks from a former leader named Othman, had taken the city of Constantinople in 1453 and then swept up through the Balkan peninsula. Soon after Hungary became an Austrian possession 1529 they conquered it, and even threatened to take Vienna. Then they were driven back, and for a century and a half their conquering zeal languished. At the end of the seventeenth century they again advanced northward and besieged Vienna in 1683. Once more they were driven off, chiefly with the help of John Sobieski, King of Poland, and this time the Austrians began to expand down the valley of the Danube. They recovered Hungary 1699 under the leadership of that great general of the War of the Spanish Succession, Prince Eugene of Savoy.

At the opening of the eighteenth century the Archduke of Austria ruled over a vast extent of territory that was an em-

C. Austrian succession

pire in itself. When Charles VI died in 1740 the male line of the Hapsburgs came to an end. This created the problem of the Austrian Succession. Charles VI had foreseen the problem and tried to solve it by gaining the consent of most of the countries of Europe to the Pragmatic Sanction — a document in which he bequeathed all of his possessions to his daughter Maria Theresa. Unfortunately for Maria Theresa the powers had no more intention of respecting the Pragmatic Sanction than any other treaty, and they at once prepared to seize the various parts of the Austrian dominions which each had long coveted. The first to act was Frederick II, the King of Prussia.

III. War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748
A. Frederick the Great (1740–1786)

Frederick II, commonly known in history as Frederick the Great, followed his father Frederick William I upon the throne of Prussia only a few months before the death of Charles VI. He was a man of a peculiar personality. As a youth he had shown a great fondness for literature, music and pleasure. Naturally this did not please the old "drill-sergeant," his father, and the young man was punished in various ways to make him take life more seriously. Finally he was imprisoned and his closest companion shot before his eyes. Then he submitted and was put through a course of practical training in all the offices of the civil and military departments of the state until he knew them as well as any man in the kingdom. No prince was ever better educated to rule, and from the moment that the crown was placed on his head none ever performed his duties more conscientiously. As soon as he saw Austria apparently weakened by the succession of a woman, he decided that here was an opportunity to acquire territory and also to undermine the dominance of Prussia's rival in the Empire. Without delay he marched his troops into Silesia, the high plateau district along the upper section of the Oder to part of which Prussia had long laid claim, and seized Breslau, the capital. 1741

B. Other opponents of Austria
1742

At the same time Austria was attacked by France, Bavaria, Sardinia, Spain and Savoy. Their power was increased when Charles, the Duke of Bavaria, was elected emperor. In this crisis Maria Theresa showed herself one of the most courageous and resourceful rulers her country had ever known. In order to

1742 gain time she ceded Silesia to Frederick and then turned upon the other countries. First Bavaria was defeated and the Austrians advanced to the Rhine. England and Holland came to 1745 Maria's aid. Her husband Francis was elected emperor on the death of Charles, and thus the imperial crown was regained by the Hapsburgs. Saxony and Sardinia changed over to her side, and then after several years of fighting France and Spain were forced to make the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum;* that is, conditions were restored to the state in which they were before the war. However, Prussia still kept Silesia, because it had been granted to her by a separate peace during the war.

C. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748

IV. Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

A. Cause

Silesia was the cause for a renewal of the fighting, because Maria Theresa was far too imperious a queen to suffer territory to be taken away from her so unscrupulously. She had only ceded it to Frederick with the intention of regaining it as soon as she had overcome her other enemies. After the War of the Austrian Succession was over, she began preparations to recover Silesia. The Austrian army was strengthened and the administration of the state made more efficient. An astute diplomatic campaign was begun, as a result of which she even gained an alliance with France. This was a diplomatic revolution, because for generations France and Austria had been enemies. Besides, Russia, Saxony, Sweden and later Spain were induced to join in a powerful coalition against the rising power of Prussia.

B. Campaigns

In 1756 the war began, and because it lasted until 1763 it became known as the Seven Years' War. It was one of the most bitter and widespread conflicts in the history of Europe. It looked at first as if Frederick would certainly be overwhelmed, for in size his country was a pigmy compared to the aggregation arrayed against him. However, he gained an alliance with England and fought a defensive war that for courage and skill has seldom been equaled. Not waiting for the attack he struck first, and seized Saxony and Bohemia. Nov. 5, 1757 Then, when his enemies invaded Prussia, he first defeated a larger French army at Rossbach and after that a superior force Dec. 5. of Austrians at Leuthen. Within a month he had thus won two of the greatest victories in the annals of Europe against forces that were more numerous. These battles showed a military skill that placed him among the greatest generals of all time, but the odds were against him. Though he fought with the cunning of a fox, his enemies gradually closed in upon him. Berlin, his capital, was taken by the Russians, and eventually 1760 Prussia must have been overcome had not the capricious hand of fate turned the tables in Frederick's favor. The Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia, who had entered the war purely out of personal hatred for Frederick, died. Her successor Peter III 1762 made peace merely because of personal admiration for the Prussian king, and restored all the territory Russia had taken. France had long since confined her efforts to fighting England. Austria, after vainly trying to continue the war alone, yielded and made the Treaty of Hubertusburg, 1763, by which Silesia was finally surrendered to Prussia. Frederick had gained his ends, but it may well be questioned whether Silesia was worth all the bloodshed, suffering and horror it caused. The war had two important results: first, it created in Prussia a rival for predominance in the Empire well able to dispute that position with Austria, and second it made Prussia a nucleus around which the other states of Germany were destined to gather until they formed a German nation.

C. Treaty of Hubertusburg, Feb., 1763

V. Partitions of Poland

A. Condition of Poland

Frederick's next important addition to Prussian territory was made by joining with Russia and Austria in the partition of Poland. Poland was large in extent, but weak in power by the time of the Seven Years' War. One cause of this weakness was the lack of natural boundaries. The chief reason was that in Poland the feudal nobles had become practically independent of the king instead of being subjected to him as they were in France and England. There was a central assembly called a diet, which was hampered by an unfortunate rule that any one member could veto the action of all the rest. Consequently it was seldom that any important action was taken. Such weakness offered an irresistible temptation to neighboring countries to take portions of territory which geographically were as much part of their own land as of Poland. In 1772 Russia, Prussia and Austria agreed on the First Partition of Poland, by which

B. First partition, 1772

a section of Polish territory was given to each, and Prussia received as her share West Prussia. This was a valuable gain because it filled in the gap between East Prussia and the rest of the dominions of Frederick the Great. To the world the three nations announced that they only wished to suppress disorder in Poland and protect their own boundaries. In reality it was an act of ruthless robbery which Poland was quite unable to resist, but it aroused the Poles from their lethargy, and the first partition was followed by a revival of culture and the establishment of reforms. This showed that national spirit was far from dead in the country. Unfortunately for the Poles Russia stepped in to stop the movement. About twenty years after the first partition Tsarina Catherine II, known to history as Catherine the Great, agreed with Prussia on a second partition by which each took another large portion. This stirred the Poles to revolt, and led by a fearless patriot named Kosciusko they attempted to regain what they had lost. But the sides were too uneven. Kosciusko was easily defeated and a third partition took place in which all that remained of Poland was divided up between Russia, Prussia and Austria. Still the inhabitants of the territory continued to be Poles, speaking their own language, cherishing their national traditions, and longing for the day when they might recover their independent sovereignty.

C. Second partition, 1793

D. Third partition, 1795

VI. Benevolent despots

A. Frederick the Great

Though Frederick the Great was one of the greatest generals in history, he was primarily not a man of war but a man of peace. He was the greatest of a group of rulers who were known as the benevolent despots, because they used their absolute authority in the government to rule for the benefit of their subjects. In this they followed the new theories of government that grew up in the eighteenth century. Frederick wrote a book on the subject of political science in which he pictured the king as the chief servant of the state — the steward who must work hard to give a good account of the powers entrusted to him. This was strenuous doctrine which he knew how to practise as well as to preach. At the expense of long hours of toil he closely supervised every detail of the complicated system of civil and military administration. He was particularly interested in agriculture, and encouraged the adoption of improved methods of fertilizing, planting and stock-raising. In the regulation of industry and commerce he was a confirmed mercantilist, for he established a high protective tariff, and tried to create new industries so that Prussia would not have to buy goods from foreign nations. For instance, he spent large sums in importing silkworms and attempting to establish the manufacture of silk, though the climate of the country was so unsuitable that his efforts were doomed to failure. The most commendable aspect of his reforms was that they showed a deliberate effort to apply reason to the science of government. For example, he abolished torture as a means of securing evidence, established liberty of religious worship, and gave rewards for merit. To be sure there were many evils, such as serfdom, which he left untouched, but in this he showed the wisdom that recognizes the limits of what can be done by legislation. Thus he built up the prosperity of his state, and this prosperity no doubt encouraged a creative movement in German culture known as The Enlightenment. It was the age of great writers like Goethe, profound philosophers like Kant, and inspired musicians like Bach. Strange to say Frederick himself never appreciated German culture, and when he wrote, as he did quite often, he wrote in French.

B. Catherine the Great (1762–1796)

1762

Another of the benevolent despots was Catherine the Great of Russia. Catherine was a German princess who married Peter III, and then soon after he came to the throne of Russia led a conspiracy against him in which he was murdered. Thus she became the ruler of Russia and proved to be the most capable sovereign of that country since Peter the Great. Not only did she increase the territory of her nation by the partitions of Poland and conquests from the Turks on the Black Sea, but she also greatly improved the efficiency of the government. Being highly educated herself, she stimulated education and patronized literature.

C. Joseph II (1765–1790)

One of the most altruistic and at the same time unsuccessful of the benevolent despots was Joseph II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and Archduke of Austria. As soon as Joseph was convinced that a certain policy was for the best interest of his subjects he tried to apply it, but often failed to consider the best method for overcoming the practical difficulties in the way. For instance, he abolished serfdom in some of his dominions without realizing that the people were not yet prepared for a better system of agriculture. He adopted certain religious policies, such as toleration, which were good in themselves, but which aroused so much opposition that it weakened his ability to do good in other ways. With profound wisdom he saw that one of Austria's greatest problems was to centralize dominions that were widely scattered and inhabited by a variety of races. However, in the process of centralization he failed, partly because he employed poor methods, and partly because the task was too great, if not impossible. Finally he died, disappointed and discouraged — a despot who had carefully studied the problems of his country, and sincerely tried to solve them by the best policies known to his time. Ultimately these policies were on the whole destined to succeed, for he was in accord with the trend of history.

Among the benevolent despots were included many other rulers; such as Charles III of Spain and Louis XVI of France. In the eighteenth century the demand for better methods of government was growing so strong that soon despots had to listen, and the days of those who refused to take heed were numbered.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE STRUGGLE OF ENGLAND WITH SPAIN AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. Causes

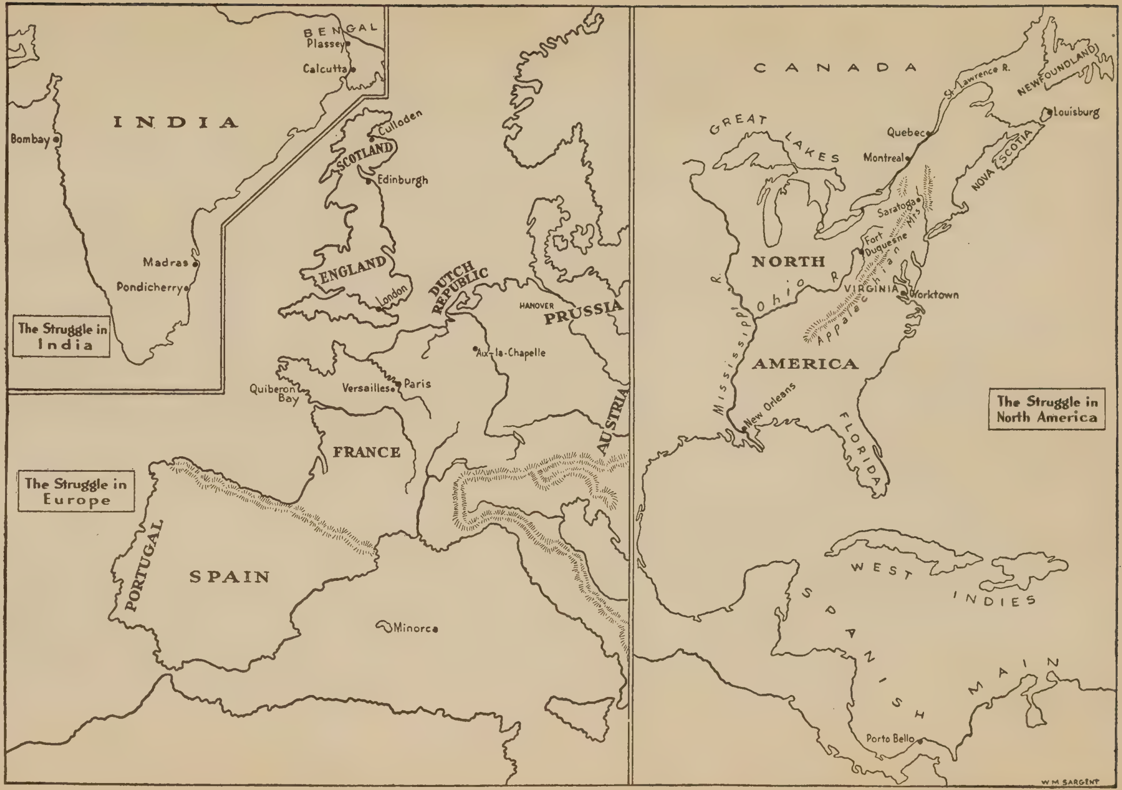
While the rivalry between Prussia and Austria was occupying the energies of central Europe, another struggle of a different kind was going on in close connection with it. This was the struggle of England with Spain and France. The first cause of the conflict was commerce. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the countries of Europe had developed methods of commerce that were quite different from those used today. For instance, foreign commerce was carried on by trading companies; that is, groups of merchants who received a charter from the national government organizing them as a company and granting them privileges. One of these privileges was almost invariably the monopoly of the trade with a certain portion of the world. In order that they might uphold this monopoly they had the right to make war on anybody infringing it, whether citizens of another nation or not, and it was considered quite proper for merchants to fight each other upon the high seas while their respective countries were at peace. Another principle of commerce in the eighteenth century was mercantilism. Since mercantilism taught that each country should try to carry on commerce with other countries in such a way as to impoverish them and enrich itself, it was certain to cause conflict.

A. Commerce

1. Methods

2. Beginning of commercial wars

The first commercial war was fought by England against the Dutch. It grew out of the fact that the Dutch after they gained their practical independence in the sixteenth century had established a flourishing trade with the East Indies and with North America. The trade with the East Indies was particularly lucrative because the rare spices to be obtained there were greatly in demand as preservatives for food. About the same time that the Dutch began this trade, the English also or-


The Struggle in India
INDIA
BENGAL
Plassey
Calcutta
Bombay
Madras
Pondicherry
The Struggle in Europe
SCOTLAND
Culloden
Edinburgh
ENGLAND
London
DUTCH REPUBLIC
HANOVER
PRUSSIA
Aix-la-Chapelle
Paris
Versailles
Quiberon Bay
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Minorca
The Struggle in North America
CANADA
GREAT LAKES
St. Lawrence R.
NEWFOUNDLAND
Louisburg
Quebec
Montreal
NOVA SCOTIA
Saratoga
Appalachian Mts
Fort Duquesne
NORTH
AMERICA
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
VIRGINIA
Yorktown
New Orleans
FLORIDA
WEST INDIES
SPANISH MAIN
Porto Bello
W M SARGENT

THE STRUGGLE OF ENGLAND WITH SPAIN AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ganized an East India Company and established colonies in North America. In addition the two countries were rivals for the control of the herring fisheries in the North Sea and the carrying trade between different countries. Since both believed in the principle of monopoly in commerce, conflict was inevitable and three wars resulted in which the English deprived the Dutch of their colony in North America, excluded them from the English carrying trade and forced them to make a place for England in the trade with the East Indies. While England was defeating the Dutch Republic a far more powerful antagonist entered the commercial field. This was France. French trading companies were organized under the protecting hand of Colbert and began to surpass the English in activity after the War of the Spanish Succession. The rivalry was so keen in the trade in fish, furs, sugar and slaves that before long it looked as if the English would have to take second place in these branches of commerce. 1600 1651 ff.

B. Colonies

A second cause for conflict between the three countries was colonies. Portugal and Spain had been the first countries to make extensive explorations beyond the seas, and had divided the world outside of Europe between them. In the seventeenth century England and France arrived late upon the scene, but managed to squeeze into the colonial world and found colonies, especially in the West Indies and North America. Each country held the doctrine that no other countries should trade with their colonies without permission. The boundaries of the colonies were not well-defined and consequently there was dispute over the territory where their claims overlapped. This dispute was made more bitter by a passion for empire that dominated the spirit of Europe. The nations wanted colonies, they were proud of their colonies, and they were insatiably discontented with the colonies they had.

C. French protection of the Stuarts

The third cause for strife was the protection of the Stuarts by France. In spite of treaties to the contrary, James II and his son James III were recognized by France as entitled to the English throne. James III, who was commonly known as the Old Pretender, made an attempt to return soon after George I, the first of the Hanoverian kings, was crowned. His followers 1715 were known as Jacobites from Jacobus, the Latin form for James. The Highlanders rose in his name; there were a few battles in which the Jacobites got the worst of it; and James was actually crowned in Scotland. However, in a few weeks he was so discouraged that he returned to France and the so-called Rising of the Old Pretender came to a dismal end. 1715

II. Rule of Robert Walpole

In the struggle that took place over these issues, England had the great advantage of a superior form of government. While Louis XV of France was an indolent, pleasure-loving king who left the care of his state chiefly to incompetent ministers and his meddling mistress Madame de Pompadour, George I of England was served by one of the greatest statesmen England has ever known. This minister was Robert Walpole. After Walpole became head of the English ministry he followed three remarkably wise policies.

A. Cabinet government

The first of these was the development of cabinet government into practically the same form which it has in England today. Cabinet government was the result of the formation of political parties. After parliament was definitely divided into two groups called Whigs and Tories, William III had found that in order to get the quick action necessary in time of war, it was a good plan to choose his chief ministers from the party which had the majority. These few ministers were called the cabinet and after their support had once been gained for a policy, their influence on the majority made it an easy matter to push it through parliament.

When George I became king he was unable to speak English, he knew practically nothing about internal problems in England and was only interested in his Electorate of Hanover. Consequently he ceased attending the cabinet meetings and chose one of his ministers to preside in his place. Under Walpole's long and capable leadership this expedient became an established tradition with the following features. The members of the cabinet were always chosen from the leaders of the majority in the House of Commons. Ordinarily the cabinet would consist of members of only one party, but sometimes in case of emergency members might be taken from the other party in order to get their support and then the cabinet 1721–1742 was known as a coalition cabinet. One of the ministers was chosen by the king as prime minister to help him to choose the other members of the cabinet and to preside over its meetings. The cabinet talked over its policies together and united in presenting them to parliament. In case any one member of the cabinet was unwilling to unite in the action of the rest his only other choice was to resign. If the Commons failed to pass some measure supported by the cabinet, then the whole cabinet could either resign or else call for a new election of parliament in the hope that the people would elect a new House of Commons in which there would be a majority in their favor. In case the election went against the cabinet, then it was forced to resign in a body and the king chose a new one from the new majority.

The great merit of this form of government was that it was more responsive to the will of the people than any which had been developed up until that time. Unfortunately Walpole used every means possible, even purchase of votes, to keep a majority of his party, the Whigs, in power. This led to a vicious system of corruption that was not eradicated for more than a century. Another mistake made by Walpole was to exclude any members from the cabinet who were not subservient to his will, and the consequence was that under his ministry it contained only mediocre men instead of men of independence and leadership.

B. Business prosperity

Walpole's second policy was to make business prosperity the main end of government. Above everything else he was an astute, skillful financier and he realized that for good business the finances of the country must be kept sound and stable. This he managed to achieve for almost a generation with excellent results. In addition he used various kinds of mercantilistic regulations of commerce, reduced taxation as much as possible, and improved the arteries of commerce — the roads. He also helped business by his third policy — the maintenance of peace. One of his favorite maxims was that "any peace is preferable to even a successful war," and economically he was right. He did not advocate peace because it was a beautiful ideal, but because he was a hard-headed business man and he realized what history

C. Peace

had long since proved, that economically everybody loses by war. Walpole was never guided by ideals, and he was even ready to desert his convictions when his safety was at stake. The consequence of his policies was that English commerce and colonies flourished as they had never done before.

III. War of Jenkin's Ear, 1739–1748

A. Causes

Unfortunately Walpole was unable to restrain forever that group of profiteers found in every nation who see in war a short-cut by which they can use the unthinking mass of the people to make quicker and larger profits for themselves. This group began to agitate for war with Spain and finally won to their side the majority of the English people. There were mainly two reasons why they were able to do this. First, the rivalry with Spain in commerce was becoming more keen because Spain, since the War of the Spanish Succession, had taken on a new lease of life and was reasserting her old power. The war had closed with the Asiento Treaty, granting England a monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies for thirty years, and the right to send one ship of merchandise each year to the town of Porto Bello to trade with the Spanish colonies. This treaty the English violated both openly and covertly by all kinds of shrewd tricks, one of which was to send a ship to Porto Bello, anchor it there and keep replenishing its cargo from other ships. However, the Spaniards were not to be caught napping. They organized a vigorous coast guard service, stopped English ships wherever they found them, and searched them for contraband goods. Sometimes they maltreated or impressed English sailors. Then of course the English merchants complained loudly that they were being wronged and the country must protect them. This started a second cause for war — a vicious propaganda of pamphlets, petitions and other forms of agitation to arouse the passions of the English people against Spain. A new demand was made that Spain must not search English ships upon the high seas. Walpole negotiated a treaty with Spain that satisfactorily settled all the claims for damages, only to have it rejected by parliament when they found it said nothing about "no search." A certain Captain Jenkins told how the Spaniards had attacked his vessel and cut off his ear, and showed the ear to prove it.

1. Rivalry with Spain

1713

2. Propaganda

In spite of all Walpole could do England insisted upon war. Rather than lose office he declared war, 1739, and it became known as the War of Jenkins' Ear. Everybody expected it to be a short and "glorious" conflict and all over the land bells rang with joy. When Walpole heard them he shrewdly remarked, "They are ringing the bells now, soon they will be wringing their hands."

Oct. 23, 1739

B. Events

The events of the War of Jenkins' Ear justified Walpole's prophecy. At first the English fleet was successful in taking Porto Bello, but after that in spite of bitter, expensive fighting there were no more real victories for England on the Spanish Main. Instead the war developed serious complications for England, because in the next year the War of the Austrian Succession began. In that war Spain attacked Austria. This meant that England must become an ally of Austria, but becoming an ally of Austria meant war with Prussia and France. War with Prussia and France endangered Hanover. This was more than England had expected. War was not actually declared on France for several years, but the armies of the two countries met and fought on the continent just the same. The fighting was far from successful, while on the high seas the Spanish captured hundreds of English merchantmen. The only real success achieved by the English arms was the capture of the powerful French fortress of Louisbourg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

1. Porto Bello Nov. 21, 1739

2. Complications Oct. 20, 1740

June 17, 1745

3. Revolt of the Young Pretender, 1745–1746

A month later the war took a disastrous turn for England when Charles Edward Stuart, known as the Young Pretender because he was the son of James III, the Old Pretender, landed in Scotland. The Highlanders flocked to his standard and affectionately dubbed him Bonnie Prince Charlie. Almost with no opposition he conquered Edinburgh and then subdued the rest of Scotland. That proved to be only the beginning of his task, for England, taken unawares, was arming. So he invaded England, walking on foot at the head of his men, and carefully avoiding all plunder that might antagonize the English. He advanced within almost a hundred miles of London. But nobody rose to support him, an army was threatening Scotland behind him, and against his will he was forced to turn back.

Sept. 17, 1745

Nov.–Dec., 1745

Apr. 16, 1746 He was driven into the bleak highlands for the winter and there completely defeated at the battle of Culloden. Scotland was quickly subdued and punished, while Prince Charlie after months of hiding and dodging finally escaped to the continent, there to drown his disappointment in drink. The Revolt of the Young Pretender had failed. Nevertheless, it had forced England to call home large numbers of troops from the continent, so that she was unable to take a vigorous part in the struggle there. Oct. 18, 1748 At last the war closed with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. By this treaty England, Spain and France restored to each other all conquered territory. Louisbourg was given back to the French, to the bitter chagrin of the American colonists, and Madras was returned to the English in India. Not one word was said in the treaty about the war-cry that had persuaded the English to enter this costly and worthless conflict — " no search." The things whose importance had been exaggerated out of all relation to their real value in order to stampede England into war, had become quite insignificant just as they would have done if no war had taken place. The real difficulties could have been easily settled by treaty as Walpole tried to settle them.

IV. Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

A. Conflict in North America

1. Settlements

After the War of Jenkins' Ear it became evident that England's greatest commercial and colonial rivalry was not with Spain but with France. This rivalry was chiefly in two areas, North America and India. In North America the English had settled in the West Indies and along the North Atlantic seaboard. The French had settled along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The English settlements were compact and twelve times as thickly populated as the widely scattered settlements of the French. The difference in population was largely due to a difference in religious policy. In the English colonies there was in general a policy of religious toleration, while in the French the Roman Catholics were intolerant. In political policy they also differed. While the English colonies were divided into many units each with its own government, the French had a unified control under one governor.

2. Conflict

Conflict between the French and English was inherent in the situation and flamed up every time there was a war in Europe between the two countries. It became especially bitter about the middle of the eighteenth century when the French began to build a line of forts along the frontier of the Appalachian Mountains and the Ohio River valley. At the same time the English were beginning to cross the Appalachians into the land westward, which they claimed belonged to them. The governor of Virginia protested against the French fortifications, but the French refused to withdraw and after a light skirmish built Fort Duquesne at the spot where Pittsburgh now stands. Though no war had yet been declared between the two nations of France and England, the English colonies most concerned organized an expedition against Fort Duquesne and the mother 1754 country contributed a small army of veterans commanded by General Braddock. Unfortunately for England Braddock, as well as some of his subordinates, was incompetent and was defeated a few miles from Fort Duquesne. July 9, 1755 Only the skill of George Washington, the commander of the forces from Virginia, saved the army from total destruction.

3. Seven Years' War (French and Indian War)

The next year the Seven Years' War began in Europe, and, since France and England were already fighting in North America, they took opposite sides in Europe. England made an alliance with Prussia and France joined forces with Austria. In this war the English had two advantages over the French — the control of the sea, and the leadership of the second great English statesman of the eighteenth century, William Pitt. Pitt saw that the fight must be fought on the sea and in the colonies, so he sent strong reënforcements to the colonies in North America and helped them organize a powerful offensive against the French. The attack was made successfully at many points along the frontier: Fort Duquesne was captured and renamed 1758 Pittsburgh after Pitt; Louisbourg was taken once more; and 1758 then Quebec, in spite of the heroic defense made by Montcalm, was forced to surrender to General Wolfe. 1759 In the final battle both he and Montcalm were killed. Later Montreal was taken 1760 and then French resistance was at an end.

B. Conflict in India

Meanwhile on the other side of the world in India a similar conflict was taking place. In spite of the fact that the one

1. Divisions in India name of India was used for the whole peninsula, there was no other element of unity in the country. In language, race and religion it was divided into a great variety of groups that hated and fought with each other just as the nations in Europe did. This made them an easy prey for the European nations, because the Europeans could induce the Indians to fight each other and then by a little added strength make that side the victor which gave them the most return. 2. French and English traders At first the Europeans who came to India did not come to conquer the country nor to colonize it. They came for trade. 1600 The English organized an East India Company and 1664 the French did the same. They established trading stations known as factories. This name was used because the station was a settlement of agents and the Latin word for agent was "factor." The most important French factory was Pondicherry, and the chief English stations were Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. For a time the factories of the two nations got along quite peaceably together.

3. Dupleix, 1741 Then the French changed their policy when a new and energetic governor came named Dupleix. He introduced two new policies: one to create an empire by intrigues with the native states and the other to organize a large army by employing native soldiers called sepoys and training them in European methods of warfare.

4. Clive This alarmed the English, who adopted Dupleix's policies and put their army under the command of a young clerk named Robert Clive. Clive proved to be a gifted general. He captured one of the French stations and Dupleix was called home in disgrace for having violated the policy of peace established by the French East India Company. This was a mistake, because shortly afterwards the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe started war in India and then the French needed Dupleix badly. At about the same time, the native ruler of Bengal decided to drive out the English; captured 1756 Calcutta; and put his prisoners in a small room, where most of them suffocated to death the first night. This became known as the Black Hole of Calcutta and aroused the English to revenge. Clive was fully equal to the occasion and completely defeated the vastly larger army of the prince at the battle of

Plassey in 1757. This battle was important because it began the English conquest of India. Moreover, it left Clive free to deal with the French forces which had just arrived. Defeating them was not such an easy task as defeating the natives, but finally Pondicherry was taken and henceforth English military power was supreme. 1761

C. War in Europe

On the continent of Europe, the English did not meet with success until finally Pitt was made prime minister and by his energy brought victory out of defeat. He gave large subsidies to Frederick the Great so that the latter could distract the attention of the French. When France prepared to invade England, the English navy won the battle of Quiberon Bay, which gave them complete command of the sea. Then the Duke of Brunswick with the aid of English money and men succeeded in driving the French completely out of Hanover, so that by 1761 England was victorious on all fronts. Nov. 30, 1759 1759–1760

D. Attempt of George III (1760–1820) to overthrow cabinet government

These victories were followed by a new phase in the war. A new king, George III, had come to the English throne and decided to overthrow the system of cabinet government in order to regain complete royal control of executive functions. To do this he advocated a policy of peace and pushed his friend Lord Bute into the cabinet. Pitt, on the contrary, demanded war against Spain, because he saw she was coming to the aid of France, and when England refused to declare it, he resigned. Bute was made prime minister, but he was forced to fight Spain anyway, for that country joined France as Pitt said she would. However, Spain was defeated without much difficulty and finally the war came to a close. Oct. 5, 1761

E. Peace of Paris, Feb. 10, 1763

The Peace of Paris, 1763, which concluded the Seven Years' War in so far as it was fought between England, France and Spain, provided that in America Spain was given the region west of the Mississippi with the addition of New Orleans and the surrounding territory east of it. England was given the rest of North America. France was given fishing rights on the North Atlantic coast, certain islands in the West Indies, and free navigation of the Mississippi. In India the French factories were restored to the French with the provision that they should not fortify them nor maintain any military force. In the western Mediterranean England regained Minorca. These were the main provisions, and were practically the same terms that England had rejected a few years before. 1761 The treaty was very unpopular with the English people. They were furious to think that territory actually in their possession at the end of the war was handed back to the enemy, and Bute was attacked so bitterly that he had to resign. As a matter of fact French commerce was not greatly injured by the war and the struggle with England was far from ended. No sooner was the Peace of Paris signed than France began preparing her military and naval forces for the next encounter, and in this encounter, strange to say, she was aided by those very same colonies in North America which until now had fought her so vigorously.

V. War of the American Revolution, 1775–1783

A. Causes

1. Development of nationalism in the colonies

The War of the American Revolution, which was the next stage in the struggle between England and her commercial rivals, was the result of three fundamental causes. The first of these was the development of nationalism in the thirteen colonies on the North Atlantic seaboard. This spirit of nationalism — that is, the feeling that they were a separate and distinct nation from England — was due to several causes. One was the enormous distance between England and the colonies. Another was the fact that large numbers of the inhabitants were immigrants from other European countries and naturally their feeling of loyalty was to the colony and not to England. Still another cause was the fact that the colonists developed a new form of self-government to meet the emergencies on the frontier. This form of government was quite different from that in England and more democratic. For generations they were left practically free to govern themselves, and when England tried to regain control over them after the Seven Years' War they naturally objected.

2. England's colonial policy

A second cause of the American Revolution was England's colonial policy. For a long time this policy was not clearly formulated and the provisions made in England for governing the colonies were so hopelessly confused that all kinds of mistakes were made. At bottom English colonial policy was mercantilistic; that is, it was based on the idea that the colonies should be exploited for the economic benefit of the mother-country. The colonies naturally objected to being exploited. Their economic interests were so different from those of England that the attempt to apply mercantilism to them was oppressive. Moreover, after the Seven Years' War England tried to establish a new and unpopular code of taxation for the colonies.

3. Propaganda

The third cause for the war was propaganda. A large group of active thinkers in the colonies branded the English methods of taxation as tyranny because they were founded on a different principle from their own. These men were on fire with new, doctrinaire ideas of a better form of government which they called democracy. They saw in the attempt of George III to overthrow cabinet government an attack on this new conception of government and they condemned him as a tyrant. They took the side of the Whigs against him. Then deeds of violence occurred, men lost their heads, the main issues were pushed aside, and the simple question of who was going to win plunged England and her thirteen colonies into war.

B. Events

The most important event of the Revolutionary War for the history of Europe was the battle of Saratoga in 1777, where the Americans destroyed a whole British army. This great victory influenced France to make an alliance with the colonies. 1778 France was soon followed by Spain, and Spain, strange to say, by her old enemy the Dutch Republic. Then most of the rest of Europe joined an alliance of armed neutrality to resist the English practice of searching vessels — a practice against which the English themselves had gone to war in 1739. England found herself in the position of a country that threatened the safety of the rest of the world, and the rest of the world had risen against her. With the help of the fleet and army that France sent to America General Washington was able to capture a whole British army under General Cornwallis at Yorktown. 1781 By this time the people in England who were opposed to the attempt of George III to overthrow cabinet government, and who were friendly to the colonies, had gained the upper hand.

C. Treaty of Paris, 1783

When the colonies refused to accept anything less than complete independence, England signed a treaty with them at Paris in 1783 granting them independence and ceding to them all territory formerly held by England between Canada, the Mississippi and Florida. Meanwhile the war had not been going well for France and the other allies of the colonists. The cessation of fighting on the mainland of America after Yorktown left England free to turn her full strength against her other foes. She managed to regain the supremacy of the sea by defeating both the French and Spanish fleets, but political conditions were so bad in England that she was glad to end the war by giving her enemies advantageous terms in the Treaty of Versailles, 1783. France received some islands in the West Indies together with a confirmation of the commercial rights granted in the Peace of Paris, 1763. Spain was given Florida and the valuable fortress of Minorca in the Mediterranean — a fortress so important that it was mentioned in every great treaty of the eighteenth century. France had entered the war for what she could gain. She was amply repaid for the assistance she gave the colonies against England, for at the close of the war she was in a far better position to contest English commercial rivalry, in addition to having crippled her adversary by the loss of valuable territory. The most terrific struggle between France and England was yet to come.

D. Treaty of Versailles, 1783

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CHAPTER XIX

THE REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE AND THOUGHT

I. Revolution in Science

A. Creation of the Copernican universe

1473–1543

1. Planetary system

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the thinking men of Europe began to construct a new and quite different picture of the universe from that which had been in their minds before. This new picture was called the Copernican universe because the man who began the work was Nicholas Copernicus, a native of Poland. Copernicus was by profession a physician, but his chief scientific interest was in mathematics. He became interested in the application of mathematics to the relations of the stars, and in order to observe them better pierced holes in the side of his house. After careful observations he became convinced that the sun did not revolve around the earth as men had pictured to themselves before, but that it was a stationary body around which a number of spheres called planets revolved in circles, one outside of the other. The earth was one of these planets, and at the same time that it revolved around the sun it also rotated on its axis. Outside this planetary system was a hollow sphere to which were attached the fixed stars. He drew up a brief statement of this new picture of the universe and presented it to Pope Clement VII, and the pope requested him to publish a book explaining the theory in full. After many long years the book was completed and the first printed copy was brought to Copernicus as he lay dying. The book was called *Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs*. Though it only attracted a little attention at the time and nobody took it seriously, it was destined to be the foundation of a revolution not only in astronomy but also in the thought of mankind.

1530

1543

2. Infinite universe

The next step in the creation of the Copernican universe was the suggestion that the fixed stars, instead of being attached to the inside of a hollow sphere, really floated in a vast expanse of limitless space. This idea was advanced by an

Italian named Bruno who was an outspoken heretic attacking various established beliefs. Unfortunately he was so offensive in the way he attacked them that the Inquisition summoned him for trial and he was burned at the stake. He was a martyr not so much to the cause of science as to his lack of respect for the opinions of other men. As a matter of fact he did the cause of science a great deal of harm by arousing antagonism where there had been little before. From his time on the Copernican universe was stamped as a dangerous heresy. The chief objection was that the new theory changed the earth from the greatest of God's creations to a mere speck in an ocean of space. 1548–1600 1600

3. Mathematical laws

Nevertheless, the Copernican picture continued to develop, and the next line to be added was the proof that the movements and relations of the heavenly bodies were governed by fixed and unchangeable mathematical laws. This was proved chiefly by the work of two men — Brahe and Kepler. Brahe was equipped by the emperor with the most up-to-date observatory of the time. To be sure, he had no telescope, for that had not yet been invented, and he still peered through holes in the side of the building. However, he did possess instruments of precision that enabled him to make a vast number of observations. These observations filled in the Copernican picture still further by showing that the laws of the movements of the planets could be verified mathematically to the smallest detail, if stated correctly, and that the path followed by the planets, instead of being a circle, as Copernicus had said, was really an ellipse.

Brahe, 1548–1601

Kepler, 1571–1630

4. Proof of its reality

The next achievement was the proof to the world at large that the Copernican universe was not merely a picture of the imagination. This was done by one of the greatest scientists of modern times, Galileo. Galileo was a versatile Italian professor who tried to excell in most branches of human knowledge and succeeded in many of them. His greatest contributions were made in the fields of physics and astronomy. When he happened to hear that a Dutchman had constructed an instrument called a telescope that made distant objects look near and large, he used the knowledge which he already possessed of lenses to construct a much better telescope of his own. 1564–1642

With this instrument he made discoveries which proved beyond a doubt that the Copernican universe was a reality. For instance, he found that there were four satellites that revolved around the planet Mars in exactly the same way that the earth and other planets revolved around the sun. At the same time he discovered many of the laws of dynamics — the study of the effect of forces in causing or modifying the motion of masses. This was a direct contribution to the creation of the Copernican universe, because that universe was composed of bodies moving and falling through space. For example, he showed that the speed at which bodies fall is not determined by their weight, because he dropped two objects of different weight but equal size from the top of the Leaning Tower of Pisa and both struck the ground at the same time. Galileo's method was mathematical. He would analyze a single incident, find the mathematical principle involved, and deduce the consequences. In this method his fundamental purpose was new — he sought to find out *how* the laws of nature worked and made no attempt to explain *why*.

One reason why Galileo was able to demonstrate the reality of the Copernican universe as well as make many other contributions to scientific knowledge was because he had the gift of writing down his discoveries in language that ordinary people could understand. He was primarily a teacher, not merely content to learn things himself, but on fire to convince the rest of the world of the truth. Unfortunately he, like Bruno, lacked tactfulness and he stirred up much opposition by the offensive way in which he attacked false ideas. For instance, to make his belief in the new universe more convincing he tried to prove it from the Bible. The theologians thought he was trying to change religion. He was tried before the Inquisition, and ordered to deny that the Copernican theory was true. He did it, but he still believed it. Unfortunately he had made it look as if the theory was a denial of standard religious beliefs, and one theologian declared, " The opinion of the earth's motion is of all heresies the most abominable." 1616

5. Law of gravitation

The conception of the Copernican universe was made practically complete when the law of gravitation was discovered by Sir Isaac Newton. Up to his time nobody had explained why the heavenly bodies followed an elliptical path instead of going off into space in a straight line, and why they followed that path with such great mathematical exactitude. Newton showed that gravitation — the same force that made bodies fall to the surface of the earth — attracted the heavenly bodies toward each other and so held them in their fixed orbits. Mathematically formulated, the law of gravitation stated that every particle of matter attracted every other particle of matter with a force directly proportional to the product of the masses, and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. Newton made his discovery of the law of gravitation more valuable by the additional discovery of the most important part of a mathematical process called infinitesimal calculus. This process was also discovered independently by a German named Leibnitz. The problem was to measure the velocity of a body which moved at a varying rate of speed. To solve this problem infinitesimal calculus reduced varying velocity to uniform velocity, roughly speaking, by dividing the distance into infinitesimal parts divided again by the interval of time. It measured the velocity at a point and then summed up the measurements of velocity at many points. The same method was also used for measuring curves and stresses, so that now the astronomer had a formula for measuring the movements of the planets that saved him months of routine labor. In addition to these two great contributions, Newton made such important additions to the knowledge of light and optics that for these alone he will always be remembered as great. In chemistry, the subject in which he experimented the most, he either accomplished little, or else failed to record it for mankind. Another peculiarity was that he made no attempt to state the meaning of his discoveries or form a philosophy based upon them. He was content to state the facts. The result of his work was to make men think of the universe as a huge machine, frequently called the Newtonian world-machine. 1642–1727

B. Medicine

While the creation of the Copernican universe was the most fundamental change in scientific knowledge and thought in modern times, tremendous advances were made in other sciences. In medicine, progress was first noticeable in the field 1. Anatomy of anatomy after accurate methods of dissection were established by Vesalius. Then gradually the secret of the circulation of the blood was revealed; the greatest part of the work 1616–1628 being done by an English court physician to James I and Charles I named Harvey. The part played by the lungs had already been learned. Harvey, after long observations, showed the action of the heart, the arteries and the veins in the circulatory system. Then later other scientists with the help of improved instruments increased the knowledge of the system by such discoveries as the connection of the capillaries between the arteries and the veins. Since the circulation of the blood was so closely associated with every part of the anatomy, the whole conception of the body was changed by this discovery.

The improvement in the knowledge of anatomy naturally in- 2. Surgery volved an improvement in surgery. It was not until the eight- 3. Physiology eenth century that much advance was made in physiology — the study of the functions of the body; the progress in therapy 4. Therapy — methods of healing — was even slower. The first important 1493–1541 advance in therapy was made when a doctor named Paracelsus started the use of chemicals in medicine and even discovered the effect of ether, though he failed to apply it as an anesthetic. Still all sorts of strange and vile medicines continued to be used and it was only slowly that better methods were employed. The progress of geographical exploration contributed many new medicines, of which one of the most valuable was quinine, for its power to counteract fever enabled explorers to penetrate countries where diseases were prevalent that previously had been deadly to them. The perfection of vaccination by Edward 1796 Jenner was extremely important for it established the use of vaccines — one of the most valuable methods in modern therapy.

C. Chemistry Chemistry was a science which went through a complete revolution of purpose and methods in modern times. The new purpose given to it was the search for the elements into which all matter may be resolved and the study of their relations to each other in compounds. It was not the work of one man, but the concerted labors of many that gradually evolved this purpose, yet the man who did most was Boyle. He it was who founded the modern theory of the elements as well as contributed much to the knowledge of gases. The chief problem which puzzled chemists was fire, and it was not until the eighteenth century that this was satisfactorily explained by the greatest of all chemists of that age, a Frenchman named Lavoisier. He showed that fire was a process of oxidization; that is, the combination of oxygen with the burning material, and in addition he invented the system of nomenclature still used by chemists.

1627–1691

1743–1794

D. Aids to science

Along with the change and increase in scientific knowledge went the development of the aids to science. Scientific instruments were invented and improved, such as the microscope. Textbooks were written and scientific explorations were organized. Botanical gardens were planted for the collection of exotic plants, and learned societies were established. One of the first and greatest of these was the Royal Society of London, which held meetings for scientists to discuss their problems, carried on a correspondence with scientists in other countries, and published accounts of important discoveries. The establishment of scientific journals did much to spread knowledge and to coördinate the efforts of workers in different lands. Science was also aided by the division of its activities into different fields and by the creation of new branches. For a long time it was the rule for a scientist to work in many subjects that today would be considered quite separate, such as medicine, astronomy and music. Then new fields were marked out — such as botany, zoölogy, geology — and men began to specialize in one field. This was an inevitable consequence of the vast increase in scientific knowledge, which made it necessary for a scientist to spend years familiarizing himself with the knowledge already attained in one field before he was in a position to make any advances for himself.

1660

II. Revolution in thought

A. Philosophy of Science

1. Problem

The creation of the Copernican universe, the complete change in the conception of chemistry, and the revolutionary additions to knowledge in the other sciences placed man in a new world just as truly as if he had been taken off the earth and put on another planet. This brought him face to face with the problem of readjusting all his thought-world to the new material world in which he found himself. In other words, he had to take not only his knowledge about the stars, but also his knowledge about everything else and ask himself, " What do I know? " and " How do I know it is true? " For instance, before 1500 men lived in a world where they thought of God as constantly interfering to make it rain or stop raining. As a result of the scientific revolution they found themselves in a world where all the actions of nature were governed by an immutable, mathematically exact law that God himself did not change. This required a new conception of God. Men had to create a new philosophy of science. Of course they did not sit down on any particular day and think it out. It was the result of a long and painful struggle by a slowly increasing number of thinkers who are still largely in the dark.

2. Francis Bacon, 1561-1626

One of the first serious attempts to formulate a new philosophy based on the findings of science was made by Francis Bacon. Bacon was Chancellor of England under James I and also a fearless thinker. He declared that it was necessary for man to scrap most of the knowledge which he then possessed and start in to accumulate an entirely new mass of reliable information. In order that this new knowledge might be accurate, he said that it was necessary to discard the old method of thinking called deduction — to start with general principles and deduce new ideas from them — and to use instead the inductive method. By induction he meant to collect all the facts possible by means of observation and experiment and then to formulate general laws from them. He divided all the realms of knowledge into an elaborate classification, showed what enormous and unlimited inventions might be made by scientific studies, and described an ideal process for increasing knowledge. This process consisted in giving to different men the different activities of collecting knowledge from other peoples, books and experiments; of making new experiments; of tabulating the results; of applying the knowledge thus gained; of experimenting for knowledge alone; and of formulating principles. Theoretically this was the new scientific method of modern times, but it was impracticable because scientists found it impossible to collect all the facts first. Consequently Bacon made practically no contributions to the sum total of knowledge. He paid no attention to the contributions of his countryman Harvey, or of the other men of his time, and they paid as little regard to him. It was not until the eighteenth century that French philosophers began to exalt Francis Bacon as the father of the scientific method and so created a Baconian legend that has given him far more credit than he deserves. The discovery of the scientific method was not due to him but to the accumulated labors of such experimenters as Galileo, Harvey and Newton. Nevertheless, Bacon was on the right track, for he emphasized the ideas of doubt, observation, experimentation and discovery.

B. Rationalism
1. Descartes, 1596–1650

A new method of thought known as rationalism found expression in the works of a leader named Descartes. Descartes was a French mathematician who started out like Bacon by discarding all previous knowledge. He declared that the first step in knowing must be doubt, and coined the phrase, "I doubt in order that I may know." Of one thing, however, he felt sure: his own existence. This conviction he expressed in the famous phrase, "I think, therefore I am." He started with this and other axioms, which he regarded as true, either because they were innate, or because they could be grasped by the reason. Then he deduced a system of truth. This deduction of truth from *a priori* ideas was called rationalism. His idea was that by applying a mathematical process to philosophy, he could work out a system of thought just as he would work out a problem in geometry. He tried to solve the problem of readjustment to the discoveries of science by dividing man's world into two parts: the world of things and the world of thoughts; the soul and the body; consciousness and experience. This was dualism. As for the problem of reconciling God with his new mechanistic idea of the universe, he solved that by saying that God had created the machine and set it going.

2. Spinoza, 1632–1677

A Jewish thinker named Spinoza took the rationalist method used by Descartes and deduced a gorgeous system of thought centered on the truth that "there is only one reality in the universe, one substance which may be called God."

C. Empiricism

1632–1704

Another great attempt to create a new thought-world to coincide with the new world of science was made by empiricism. Empiricism was founded mainly by John Locke, an Englishman who lived during the Restoration. Locke started by rejecting both the rationalism of Descartes and the attempt to apply mathematics to thought. He asserted that there is a narrow limit to what man is able to know. Since beyond that limit there is a chasm which it is impossible to fathom, he must give up all attempt to know certain things and confine himself to the task of mastering what is within the limits of the knowable. The knowable, he said, consists of two things: the facts gathered by experience and the abstract ideas formed by associating those facts. The accuracy of these facts and ideas can be determined not by mathematical methods but only by one test — experience. This faith in experience as a check on knowledge was called empiricism from the Greek word *empiricos* (experienced). Two other famous leaders who lived in the generation after Locke were Berkeley and Hume. An attempt to reconcile rationalism and empiricism was made by a German philosopher named Kant.

D. Deism

1. Principles

Still a different school of thought was deism. While the deists varied in their thought just as all pioneers vary, they generally agreed in recognizing four principles. The first was the mechanistic conception of the universe as a vast machine made up of matter and space with natural laws working immutably. This machine was started by God. The second principle was natural religion. They held that the true religion was a type which was natural to man and had been practised by primitive peoples. The chief elements in this natural religion were a belief in one God; his worship by virtue and piety; repentance for sin; and a system of rewards for virtue and punishments for sin. Likewise they emphasized morality and honored Jesus not for the supernatural elements in his life, but for his work of service to his fellow men. The third principle was the rejection of revelation. That is, they denied that God had given men a special message outside of nature, such as some people claimed the Bible contained. Some of the deists even pointed out errors which they claimed to find in the Bible, or in the current interpretation of it. For the same reason they denied either that miracles were true or that they were of any value, and they rejected prophecy. This made a big gap in what men until that time had regarded as religion. The fourth principle of the deists was the freedom to think. This freedom they asserted was man's right and should not be restricted either by established dogmas or by superstitious errors. Since man had a reason that was capable of guiding him right, if he used it rightly, this reason must be left free.

2. Influence

With these four principles as the basis of their thought the deists had a wide influence upon the upper classes, first in England, and later in France, where their greatest leader was a brilliant writer named Voltaire. The deists were the first group in the history of Europe for a thousand years to question seriously the fundamental truths of Christianity. The most influential reply to them was made by Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Religion.* Butler attempted to show that all the arguments they advanced against revealed religion might be equally applied against natural religion, and likewise that the arguments in favor of natural religion might be used in favor of revealed religion. It was one of the ablest defenses of supernatural religion ever made, but it was constructed out of a delicate balance of probabilities that was too involved and subtle to meet the problems raised by the new scientific world. Consequently it neither silenced the deists nor solved the problem of man's readjustment to the new universe.

3. Reply 1736

E. Skepticism Hume, 1711–1776

Another form of philosophy known as skepticism was founded by David Hume, the rationalist. He asserted that there was no proof of reality outside of man's thoughts. It is true that man's senses tell him that he perceives trees, stones and other objects, but he has no proof that such things exist outside his sense perceptions. Neither can he be sure that there is any causal relation between the things which his senses perceive, for what he regards as causes and effects are merely the results of habits of connecting things. In fact it is impossible for man to prove the reality of his own mind, for he cannot get outside of his mind to test it. Likewise there can be no proof of the existence of God. The deistic claim that natural religion proves the existence of one God is worthless, because investigations show that primitive peoples were polytheistic.

III. Results

The revolution in science and thought had far-reaching results upon the modern world. These results may briefly be summarized as follows.

A. Elimination of error

First, a vast amount of error was eliminated, such as the belief in witchcraft. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century this belief caused an appalling amount of undeserved suffering in the torture and burning of many thousands of innocent people. Likewise vile medicines were gradually eliminated and torture was officially abolished.

B. Principles of modern thought

A second important result was the establishment of principles of modern thought which today are so generally accepted that men use them unconsciously. The most important of these are the scientific method, the right of freedom of thought and the authority of specialization.

C. Control of nature

A third far-reaching effect has been the increased ability of man to control the forces of nature and use them as his servants. Unfortunately this use has often been a terrible injury to mankind, for the forces of nature have been employed by some men to tyrannize over others. For example, one of the first uses of science was in the improvement of weapons of warfare, which have not served to settle the disputes of mankind, but only to increase their horrors. One of the most beneficent and at the same time most injurious applications of the new scientific control of nature was in the various branches of industry. This use led to another great change in man's life commonly known as the Industrial Revolution.

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CHAPTER XX

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

I. Definition

It is impossible to give a satisfactory definition for such a complicated movement as the Industrial Revolution, but for working purposes it may be sufficient to define it as the change in the basis of industry from handwork and the domestic system to machine work and the factory system, which resulted in a change from an agricultural to an industrial society. This movement became strong in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century and spread to the rest of the world chiefly after 1815.

II. Causes

A. Deposits of coal and iron

The causes of the Industrial Revolution were so complex and numerous that it would be a gigantic task to explain them all. There were six main causes which by their combination at one time led to its rise in England and played some part in its spread to other countries. The first cause was large deposits of coal and iron, the materials chiefly used by modern industry. Only the countries which possessed such deposits made much progress in the Industrial Revolution. In England the mines from which these metals were secured were located close together in the same areas, mostly in the northwest portion of the country, and the result was that as the movement progressed the highest density of the population shifted to that section from the southeast where it had formerly been greatest.

B. Supply of capital

The second cause was a large supply of capital in England. Due to the development of banking and other forces, there was plenty of money to be invested in promoting the new methods of industry.

C. Expansion of commerce

The third cause was expansion of commerce. For several centuries a commercial revolution had been going on which resulted in a great extension of foreign trade, in the growth of a large merchant marine, and in other commercial advances. This commercial progress stimulated an interest in mechanical inventions and industrial development. England now possessed the ships, the trading companies and other commercial facilities for a large volume of trade. What she needed was greater industrial production. The fourth cause was the revolution in science. Modern science put into the hands of industry a knowledge of the forces of nature and the methods by which they might be harnessed. Without the great advances made in chemistry, physics, mathematics and other sciences before 1750 the Industrial Revolution would hardly have been possible.

D. Revolution in science

The fifth cause was a supply of labor seeking employment. The population of England had been increasing steadily, and by the middle of the eighteenth century there were thousands of people not attached to any occupation. Due to a revolution in agriculture thousands of small farmers were driven off their farms and forced to seek employment in the cities. These people were willing to work in the factories even at wages that meant slow starvation. The sixth cause was the development of a mechanical technique. This was such an important factor that it demands fuller treatment than the other causes.

E. Supply of labor

The development of a mechanical technique was a process which in general progressed along the following lines. First some man conceived the idea of a machine which would do work formerly done by hand; do it better and do it faster. Then he talked the idea over with other persons, usually experts in the field, and they suggested improvements in the plan. With these ideas he made a design of the machine on paper and then constructed a small working model, perhaps making further changes as they were found necessary. After that a full-sized machine was built. This might be a long, laborious process, because often there would be no materials at hand of sufficient quality to bear the strain. Besides, at first there were no industries developed with facilities for constructing such a machine, and, before it could be made, inventions would have to be made in machine making. Perhaps many years would pass before a working machine according to the original plans could be built, and then it would be found that it was too cumbersome to be practicable. Then the original inventor, or more likely some other inventor, would invent another machine in-

F. Development of mechanical technique

1. General process

corporating the ideas of the first and constructed on a new design that would be more efficient. This machine would in the same manner be improved again and again before it reached a standard condition. Thus the invention of a machine was almost never the work of one man alone but of many men, and often of several generations. More than that, the invention of a machine in one branch of industry involved an almost indispensable invention of machines in other branches of industry to work along with it before it could reach its full efficiency. Consequently, the Industrial Revolution was not caused because one man invented a new machine, but because a race of men developed a mechanical technique for constructing machines and doing practically everything by machines.

2. Textile trades

The first important example of the development of such a mechanical technique was in the textile trades. For a long time before the Industrial Revolution cotton had been a highly prized cloth. It was also a very expensive one, because it was difficult to manufacture it by the hand machines then in vogue, and all the finer grades had to be brought from India. Then 1733 a man named Kay invented a machine called the " flying shuttle " by which a weaver could weave a much wider piece of cloth than before. This called for greater supplies of thread, and inventors set to work on a spinning machine. A machine was invented which used rollers, another which operated a number of spindles at once, another which did both. Finally Crompton 1779 invented a machine called " the mule " which drew out and twisted the thread and then wound it upon spindles. This machine could be used for the manufacture of cotton; it produced a thread much finer and stronger than anything that could be made by hand; and it worked so fast that soon far more thread was produced than the spinners could use. Then Cartwright 1785 invented a loom that could be run by mechanical power. However, it was too clumsy to be practicable, and it was more than c. 1830 a generation before it was perfected to the point where it was very profitable. Then it was rapidly installed by one factory after another, and in a few years the production of cotton c. 1850 goods surpassed the production of woolens for which England had long been famous. While the textile machines were also adapted to woolens, the manufacture of cotton developed more rapidly because it was a new industry unhampered by the old laws, such as those regulating labor. Besides, a humid climate was essential for the manufacture of cotton, and in that respect the climate in northwestern England was ideal. A machine called the cotton gin was invented in America by Eli Whitney 1793 for picking the seeds out of cotton, and after that the supply of raw cotton became much greater and cheaper than of wool.

3. Mechanical power

The development of mechanical technique in the textile industry was greatly helped by a similar development in the field of mechanical power. There the greatest advance in the eighteenth century was the invention of the steam engine. The rudiments of the steam engine can be traced back at least to the Greeks. In the eighteenth century one Englishman after another improved and developed it until James Watt made such important changes in its construction that he has commonly been called its inventor. Even Watt had to spend many years of labor with the help of the best experts in England before he was able to design and manufacture an engine that was automatic, easily regulated and connectable with other machines. 1769–1785 When he did, industry had a source of power that was not dependent on the wind like the windmill, nor confined to one location like the water wheel, and in addition was far more powerful than either. In later years further sources of power were discovered, chiefly electricity and gasoline.

4. Other fields: iron, transportation, communication

The development of mechanical technique in either textiles or power would never have gone far without a wide development in other fields. In iron it was a long while before men learned how to manufacture the high grades of steel necessary for manufacturing steam engines and other machines. This led to a tremendous advance in the nineteenth century in methods of transportation by the development of the locomotive, the steamship, the electric car and the automobile. Communication was vastly improved by the telegraph, the telephone and the radio until it became magical in comparison with what had existed before. Thus in one branch of human activity after another a technique for doing things mechanically was developed that not only changed the processes of industry, but transformed the whole of human life.

III. Factory system
A. Beginnings

One of the most important features of the Industrial Revolution was the development of the factory system. This system had its beginnings as early as the sixteenth century in England. Before the factory system labor had been carried on either under the gild system of the Middle Ages or by the domestic system. The latter was a system whereby ordinarily a capitalist would supply the laborer with the raw material; the laborer would manufacture it in his home; and the capitalist would buy the finished product.

B. Features
1. Concentration
a. Machines
b. People

The factory system in its fully developed form was a combination of at least six features. The first of these was concentration, and this concentration took chiefly two forms. In the first place, it was a concentration of machines. The machines invented during the Industrial Revolution were far too costly for the ordinary workman to buy, they were much too heavy to be placed in an ordinary building, and they required mechanical power. These problems were usually solved by the formation of a company of men, each of whom contributed some money until sufficient capital was raised to buy the machines, build a strong enough building to hold them and provide mechanical power. Since it was impracticable to construct a special building and power plant for one machine, a large number of machines were located in one building, and, theoretically, the more the better. This involved, secondly, a concentration of people, because the workers not only had to work in the same building, but they had to live near their work. This concentration was intensified by the fact that it was more profitable to construct one factory near others, at least in related industries, so as to minimize the cost of transporting from one factory to another partially manufactured articles in which they had a share. This created the modern city, with a far more complex organization than that of the medieval town, and with serious problems of slums, disease and crime. All of these problems were intensified by a rapid increase in population which affected the cities more than the country.

The second feature of the factory system was the subdivision of labor. Manufacturers soon found that within certain limits it was most profitable to have a separate machine for each step of the manufacturing process. For instance, in the cotton industry there was at least one machine for picking out the seed, a carding machine to comb the fibers in a straight line, a roving machine to twist it into a loose rope, a spinning machine, a loom to weave the cloth, a bleaching machine, and a printing machine. Since most of the workers only tended machines, their work was likewise divided into steps, and even where they did handwork it was found that their labor was faster and more efficient if they were given only one part of the process of manufacture. This was called subdivision of labor, and while it increased speed and efficiency it also involved other influences that were not beneficial. It made labor monotonous, thus dwarfing the mind; it submerged the personality of the individual until he ceased to be regarded as a human being and was only a number; and it caused one of the most difficult problems of modern times, transiency of labor. When a laborer did only one little act, he could learn it quickly, there was no expense in training him, he could be discharged or could leave his job at a moment's notice, and he could pick up another as quickly. Consequently, there was little to attach a laborer to one task or one locality and there were many influences that caused him to move frequently from one to another. This condition involved many serious results, such as the instability of home life.

2. Subdivision of labor

The third feature of the factory system was mechanization. The unit around which the factory was built was the machine, and the tendency was to make everything and everybody in the factory act like a machine. The laborers were theoretically no longer men, women or children, but machines who did so much work in just such a way. They did not run the machines — the machines ran them, and they regulated their actions to suit the machines. One characteristic of machines was that they were costly to stop and start. Consequently the fewer the stops the cheaper the cost of production. This meant that the factory had to adopt regular hours and as long hours as possible. All the laborers had to start and stop work at the same

3. Mechanization

time, and continue working during the same hours whether they felt like it or not. Men were forced to work at night. Others were paid according to the pieces which they finished. The more mechanically they worked the more pieces they could produce and the more they earned. This was called piece-work. But it was not human work because the human body is not made like a machine. Such a life was unnatural, and the unrestricted system of mechanization inevitably resulted in many far-reaching evils. On the other hand many workers needed this discipline, if properly regulated.

4. Exploitation of labor

One of these evils was the fourth feature of the factory system — exploitation of labor. The best policy in using a machine was to make it do the largest possible amount of work at the lowest possible cost of maintenance. When men were treated as machines the same principle was applied to them and in their case it became a vicious exploitation because there was a high cost in replacing a broken machine, while there was practically no cost in replacing a man. Laborers were paid the lowest wages they would accept, and forced to work as long as they could possibly keep awake. They were also required to work under unsanitary conditions which ruined their health, because the maintenance of sanitary conditions cost money that the employer did not want to spend. For instance, the excessive humidity necessary in cotton factories caused bronchial and pulmonary diseases. Such exploitation was especially hard on women and children, both because they had less strength to resist the strain, and also because there was a greater supply of their labor. The manufacturer did not have to worry so much about whether he could replace them. Of course many manufacturers were humane enough to try to remedy these evils and society developed many ways of protecting the helpless. Still under the best conditions there remained an unavoidable element of mechanization that was inhuman and involved some amount of exploitation just as a natural result of the factory system.

5. World market

A world market was a fifth feature of the factory system, for the reason that the factory produced far more than the local market could consume. The problem of limiting production thus became a problem of limiting the market. The only limit to the market was the world, for as long as the cost of production and transportation did not exceed the value of the article to the consumer, the manufacturer made greatest profits when he produced and sold all he could.

6. Fluctuation

The development of a world market was one cause for the sixth feature of the factory system — fluctuation. As soon as the factory began to produce in large quantities for a buyer at a great distance, it became necessary to produce far ahead of the sale. The consequence was that often the factory would produce much more than it could sell for a long time, because the expected sales would not be made. This evil of overproduction, as well as many another mistake in the regulation of the factory, was made worse by the fact that the control of the work of a large number of men was concentrated in the hands of one man or a few men. Since the manager made mistakes like all men, his mistakes were multiplied in evil consequences by the number of men he controlled. These mistakes meant loss to the factory, so that perhaps it would have to curtail or suspend production. That meant unemployment, and unemployment meant poverty with all the problems that result from poverty, such as social unrest and disease. There were periodic times of depression and prosperity that caused much loss and suffering.

IV. Social influences

The Industrial Revolution exerted far-reaching social influences that are just as much a part of it as the changes in the machines used for industry. One of these social influences was the rise of two new classes to paramount importance. While both of these classes existed before, it was not until the movement was well under way that they became the most important classes in society. One class was the industrial capitalist. This class displaced the landlord as the most powerful element in society. The fundamental characteristic of the industrial capitalist, whether one man or a group of men, was that he possessed a monopoly of the means of labor; that is, the tools, machines and other appliances. Under the factory system these were far too expensive and complicated for the worker to own. The consequence was that the capitalist dominated

A. Two new classes

1. Industrial capitalist

the distribution of the earnings and took far more than the share which theoretically he deserved in return for his contribution to the product. The difference between the share which each laborer received and the share which he would have received, had the profits been distributed in strict accordance with his contribution, has been called surplus labor value. By appropriating to himself this portion from the worker, the capitalist amassed huge wealth in a movable form. This he could apply to all sorts of activities to increase his power, such as the maintenance of lawyers to prevent any attempt to control him. On the other hand the capitalist has performed many valuable functions; such as the organization and management of industry.

2. Labor

The second class was commonly called labor. It really corresponded not to the laborers but to the tools in preceding ages, while the capitalist took the place of the man who previously manufactured by hand. Modern labor differed from the labor class of former times also in its intense concentration in huge cities, its helplessness and its restlessness. One cause of their troubles was a lack of education, and it was a century before anything like adequate educational facilities were provided for them by the state. Another cause was the lack of enough sense of class consciousness to organize in self-defense. The ability to organize developed slowly. It was always hampered by the fact that there was no fixed line between capital and labor, and many times a laborer found it far more to his advantage to squeeze into the capitalist class than adhere to the labor organization.

B. Stimulation of science

A second social influence was the stimulation of science. For the same reason that science had contributed to the rise of the Industrial Revolution, the latter in turn continued to look to science for help, and manufacturers encouraged the increase of scientific knowledge. By the development of mechanical technique it was possible to produce better scientific instruments. New fields of learning were opened up, such as sociology, and in many other ways science was promoted.

A third social influence was the practical abolition of a fixed standard of living. Before the Industrial Revolution prices of

C. Abolition of fixed standard of living

commodities were sufficiently stable so that people in certain classes maintained a steady standard of living for generations, and sometimes it was enforced by law. The factory system made it possible to produce the forms of wealth so much more cheaply that common people were able to possess luxuries of which potentates a few centuries before had never dreamed. The standard of living depended only on the amount of wealth a person might acquire, and the opportunities for acquiring even vast wealth were so numerous that people often passed quickly from poverty to splendor. Then the rest of the world wanted to imitate them and standards were swept aside.

V. Political influences
A. Two new theories of political economy
1. *Laissez-faire*

The Industrial Revolution also had important political influences, of which one was a number of new theories of political economy. Two were especially important. The first of these was known as *laissez-faire,* or in English " let go." This theory asserted that all the governmental restrictions on industry and commerce established by the mercantilists should be abolished. It contended that if the individual was left free he would seek his own prosperity, and if every other individual did the same, the result would be the prosperity of society. It also claimed that there were certain natural laws which would best regulate economic life if left alone to work in their own way. The chief exponent of the theory was Adam Smith, who wrote a book on the subject called *The Wealth of Nations.* 1776 The capitalists adopted the theory but made the fallacy of being very anxious to have all the restrictions abolished which hampered them, such as the medieval laws regulating labor, yet also trying to keep the restrictions which were in their favor, such as the right of unlimited private property. This view was challenged by the second new theory of political economy called socialism. Socialism taught in general that certain forms of wealth, especially the means of production, should be the property of society as a whole and society should be reorganized so that all its members might share in the benefits. The problem was to find a feasible plan of reorganization, and on that the socialists differed, for it was a difficult problem. However, much was done, either by the socialists or in accordance with their ideas, that partially solved the problem. For example,

2. Socialism

the nations enacted a growing mass of paternalistic legislation; that is, laws that protected the weaker elements in society. Another advance in the same direction was coöperation — the organization of economic activities so that the workers were also the owners of the enterprise. Government ownership of economic activities, such as railways, was another form of socialism. The chief weakness of socialism was the tendency to demand that the government perform functions which it was not yet organized to perform. There are some forms of social activity for which a government is unfitted and in which it has failed to achieve real success. One of the founders of socialism was a German named Karl Marx, who presented his views in a book called *Capital*. The first great socialist in England was Robert Owen.

B. Shift in classes

A second political influence of the Industrial Revolution was a shift in power between social classes. Formerly there were mainly three classes in society: the masses at the bottom, the bourgeoisie or middle class, and the aristocracy either by birth or by position. The bourgeoisie was composed mainly of manufacturers, merchants and professional men. Because of the Industrial Revolution an entirely new division of society arose. At the top was a new aristocracy of wealth, composed mostly of the leaders of the old bourgeoisie: the big industrial capitalists, the large merchants and any of the former aristocracy by birth who were able to gain a place in the wealthy class. Next below them came the middle class distinguished only by the fact that they were neither wealthy nor poor. At the bottom were the proletariat, composed of the laborers and paupers. Also, it happened that during the Industrial Revolution another revolution known as the democratic movement was going on by which the new aristocracy of wealth took away the control of the state from the old aristocracy by birth. This left the new middle class and proletariat as powerless as ever. Consequently they began a strenuous effort to gain a share in the wealth and government of society.

C. New methods of government

A third political influence was exerted in new methods of government. The use of such mechanical appliances as the telegraph and the railroad made it possible for a government to control an unlimited expanse of territory and still keep in touch with the most distant parts more effectively than rulers of small countries could have done in their narrow realms before. The great increase in supplies of movable capital, the improvement in weapons of war, and the applications of mechanical technique to other features of government gave the rulers a tremendous power.

D. New methods of political manipulation

Finally, the Industrial Revolution did much to create new methods of political manipulation. For instance, the industrial city was rich soil for the activities of the modern political boss. Also, the power printing press made possible a régime of propaganda that could be highly effective. Political organizations could be extensively organized by means of modern methods of transportation and communication so as to bring tremendous pressure to bear upon the government. The industrial changes mentioned above created wherever they spread a new type of political world in which the old methods of absolute monarchy were out of date.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE OLD RÉGIME

I. Definition

Soon after the Industrial Revolution was well under way there began a political revolution in Europe by which the bourgeoisie took away the political power from both the clergy and the aristocracy by birth. Since this revolution began in France, that phase of its history was called the French Revolution, but it must be remembered that in reality the French Revolution was only a part of a widespread movement that is still far from ended. In describing the history of the French Revolution historians have called the preceding period in France the Old Régime. A careful study of the Old Régime will show that the French Revolution was not a sudden outbreak. Signs of change were beginning to appear at least a generation before.

II. Classes of society
A. Privileged classes

The people of France in the eighteenth century were divided into three classes. The first was the privileged class, which included the clergy, also called the First Estate, and the nobles, called the Second Estate. Though there were differences in the privileges accorded the nobles and clergy, just as their occupations differed, they were both given a social superiority that raised them above all the rest of the people. They numbered less than two per cent of the population, yet they possessed at least two-thirds of the wealth of the nation. When appointments were made to pensions, offices and other positions of importance, they were always given the preference, and it was impossible for anybody except a noble to become an officer in the army. Yet at the same time most of the nobles and many of the clergy were practically useless to the country. They made little contribution either to its government or its economic life. The situation was ridiculous and it was only a question of time until such a withered limb of the body politic would be cut off. All of this was made worse by the fact that neither the clergy nor the nobility was a homogeneous class. There were large numbers of the minor nobility who possessed little more than a title. Likewise, the parish clergy who did most of the work of the church were miserably underpaid. Consequently these oppressed portions of the privileged classes were discontented, and their discontent was a serious matter, for they possessed the initiative and intelligence to seek a remedy.

B. Bourgeoisie

The second class was the bourgeoisie or middle class. This class was composed of merchants, lawyers, scholars, officials and others who were neither at the top nor the bottom of society. They formed the most important part of what was called the Third Estate — that is, everybody not in the First or Second Estate. The bourgeoisie were increasing in numbers, wealth and learning because of the rapid increase in commerce and the means of learning in the eighteenth century. Naturally this stimulated a desire for social privileges and a share in the control of the government. Gradually they pushed their way into politics, and there they found themselves in conflict with the privileged classes. The lawyers were most successful in securing public positions, for, ever since the days of Richelieu, they had been preferred for positions in the king's councils and for *intendants*. As *intendants* they were often at sword's points with the nobles who occupied the various provincial offices. In their various encounters the *intendants* always won because they were backed by the king. Besides, the bourgeoisie were more and more buying up positions as judges and thus becoming members of what was called the nobility of the robe. Thus the trend of history already indicated that the bourgeoisie were to get more control of the government.

C. Proletariat

The third class in society was the proletariat or the masses. The largest portion of them were peasants. Though their condition was probably as good, if not better, than that of the peasants anywhere else in Europe, such evils as excessive taxation made them ready for any change which would give them a chance to cast off their burdens.

III. Government

The government of France under the Old Régime showed evident tendencies by the middle of the eighteenth century to modify the absolute monarchy established by Richelieu and

Mazarin. For one thing the absolutism of the king was weakening. This was due partly to the personalities of the kings themselves. Louis XIV was a man of energy and vigor, but his successor, Louis XV, was indolent and incompetent. Louis XVI, who followed, lacked political ability. This gave various elements an opportunity to usurp the exercise of some of the functions of government, if not its control. For example, the parlement of Paris showed a growing spirit of opposition to the king by refusing to register his edicts and claiming to champion the rights of the people. The provinces commenced to demand the right to have provincial assemblies, which certain privileged provinces had always possessed, and the king yielded the right to a few of them. These were not large gains, but they were gains for the forces that tended to weaken absolutism.

A. Absolutism weakening

Another weakness in the government was its static condition. As year after year went by there were no changes to keep abreast of the times. Old laws and old courts were kept which had long since outlived their usefulness. This created a condition of confusion and lack of progress that was quite out of keeping with the general movement in Europe to make government of greater service to the governed. While Walpole, Frederick the Great and various benevolent despots were revising the organization of their nations to make them more efficient, France, up until the reign of Louis XVI, was doing nothing. The government was unable to reform itself, because it was controlled by the privileged classes, and it was to their interest to prevent all reform. It was inevitable that a change must come sometime, and the longer it was delayed the more violent it was sure to be. As Louis XV is reported to have said with characteristic irresponsibility, " The old machine will last through our days," and " After me the deluge."

B. Static condition

A third condition in the government that meant a change sooner or later was its bad financial policy. Neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had been good financiers, and what Colbert had done had been only temporary. After the wars of Louis XIV the finances of the nation were always in bad condition with no accurate records of income or expenditures and a constantly

C. Bad financial policy

increasing debt. The long struggle with England was a terrific drain that never gave the government a good chance to recuperate. The peculiar feature of the situation was that the actual wealth of the country was increasing by means of industry and commerce, while the royal treasury was growing poorer. This was largely due to a faulty system of taxation. One of its faults was that it was oppressive. For example, one of the
1439 most important taxes was the *taille,* a direct tax first established for the maintenance of a royal standing army to preserve order during the Hundred Years' War and guard the frontier. After the need for the army had passed it was still kept and the tax was levied far in excess of the original amount. In some places the collectors merely took all that they could get. Another example of the oppressiveness of taxation was the *gabelle,* or salt tax. This was an indirect tax by which families were required to buy a certain amount of salt and pay an unreasonably high price to the merchants to whom the government granted the monopoly of its sale. One of the worst features of the *gabelle* was that it was much higher in some parts of the kingdom than others, thus making an unfair discrimination. The oppressiveness of the taxes was intensified by the fact that the taxpayer received little return for what he paid. Consequently he often regarded the tax not only as an exorbitant price, but, worse still, as a total loss. A second fault of the system of taxation was its injustice. The nobles and the clergy were almost entirely exempt, while the peasants bore most of the load. The peasant who escaped with paying only a third of his income in taxes was fortunate. The third and worst defect of the system economically was that it was inadequate. By exempting the nobles and clergy it failed to touch the greatest source of wealth. The cost of collection amounted to probably twenty per cent of the amount of the taxes. As a consequence the taxes collected were not enough to pay the expense of the government at a time when the wealth of France was sufficient to supply more than was needed. This bad financial situation could not go on forever, and the day was sure to come when a reckoning would be made.

Another indication that the Old Régime was facing a fundamental change was the fact that economic conditions in France were outgrowing the old forms and transforming them into restrictions which were worthless, hampering and intolerable. For example, the foreign trade of the country multiplied five times during the eighteenth century. At the same time commerce, especially within the country, found itself restricted by the old regulations of the gilds, the poor roads, the laws forbidding the transportation of grain under certain circumstances and especially by the interior customs lines. These barriers were a serious obstacle to trade between the different parts of France, and sometimes the duties that would have to be paid in passing the various lines would be greater than the value of the article itself. Among the most irritating economic restrictions were the survivals of the feudal dues. Although most of the peasants owned their own land or were freemen, they still had to render the old lord certain dues; such as special labor, a fee for the use of his bridge, and the privilege of hunting on their land even if the crops were trampled down. In former days when there had been little money in circulation and the peasant had needed the protection of his lord, such dues had not been out of place, but in the eighteenth century they were irritating nuisances without any economic value. Consequently all these old forms of economic activity which were no longer profitable were doomed to go.

IV. Changing economic conditions

A. Commerce and industry

B. Survivals of feudal dues

The most potent force that moved the world toward a political revolution was the thought of a group of men known as the philosophers. These thinkers took the lessons which man had learned by the scientific revolution and applied them to the problems of government, with the result that they developed a new type of political science. Few of them had any intentions of starting a revolution and most of them were passionately devoted to France. Nevertheless their studies, like the studies of Galileo and Newton, meant a revolution when put into practice.

V. Philosophers

A. Influenced by scientific revolution

One of the first of these modern political scientists was John Locke, the English philosopher and founder of empiricism. Locke applied the test of reason to government as well as to everything else, and advocated several theories that were

B. John Locke, 1632–1704

widely accepted by the philosophers. Three of these theories were particularly important. First, he asserted that there was a natural law which nations should follow just as the forces of nature followed natural laws. This natural law of government demanded that men should be guaranteed certain natural rights to which they were entitled by birth. Thus he contradicted the old theory that tradition was the basis of government. His second theory was that government originated by a social contract between equal individuals, and consequently all were entitled to an equal share in it. This denied the theory that it originated in an act of God. Consequently, he claimed that a government existed by the consent of the governed, and its authority rested upon their support — not upon divine right. Third, he advocated the division of the functions of government into three departments: legislative, executive and judicial. Thus, Locke's theory of political science was in direct opposition to the divine right theory which dominated the thought of Europe at that time.

C. Montesquieu, 1689–1755

1. The man

John Locke had a direct influence on Montesquieu, the first of the French democratic philosophers to achieve high rank. Montesquieu was a nobleman by birth, a lawyer by profession, and a teacher by disposition. He wrote a number of books of sufficient merit to gain him election to the Academy, and of these the most important was *The Spirit of the Laws*. It was practically a textbook on political science, in which Montesquieu divided all governments into three classes; republics, monarchies and despotisms. He then proceeded to explain quite dispassionately a formula by which each should be conducted to be successful. The work was intended to refute the theories of Machiavelli, which had been the standard on the subject for two centuries, and to place the organization of government on a scientific basis. Many of the ideas expressed in the book were taken from Locke, such as the belief in natural law and that government was for the benefit of the governed. Montesquieu said that a limited monarchy was the best type of government for a large country, and a republic best for a small one. Also, he advocated a division of the powers or functions of government into legislative, executive and judi-

1748

2. Ideas

cial, so that each should be in the hands of different officers. Then these officers would counterbalance each other. In addition his book was marked by many ideas in advance of his age, such as the belief that caution should be exercised in the prosecution of heresy and witchcraft. Liberty and equality were made ideals, and liberty was defined as the right to do all that the laws permit. *The Spirit of the Laws* achieved immediate success in spite of the fact that it was laborious reading, and by the end of the century Montesquieu was regarded as the unquestioned authority on political science.

3. Influence

D. Voltaire, 1694–1778

1. The man

1726

The most prolific writer of the philosophers was a man who took the pen-name of Voltaire. Being exiled for having challenged a powerful noble to a duel, he went to England and there became acquainted with the works of Locke, Newton and others. The rest of his life he wandered from one place to another, spending most of his time in France near the border of Switzerland, so as to have a refuge near at hand from his enemies. He wrote a vast number of books on a wide variety of subjects — history, philosophy, mathematics, religion, etc. — in a style so vivid that he was generally regarded as the greatest writer of his time. At the same time he carried on a voluminous correspondence including such powerful friends as Frederick the Great and Catherine of Russia. Through this correspondence and personal contacts he exerted an enormous influence that it is difficult to understand today because it was so diffuse. It is impossible to pick out of his many volumes one book which expresses in clear, concrete form the ideas which Voltaire gave to the world. Nevertheless, Voltaire made a contribution by his spirit of criticism. Wherever he saw something that was wrong, unjust, or irrational in society he criticized it. For example, he attacked religious intolerance, war, affectations in manners and other widely varying abuses. Unfortunately his method was most frequently sarcasm and ridicule — an evil in itself, for it led him into exaggeration and it did nothing constructive. Nevertheless it made his writings interesting. One reason for his popularity was his sentimentalism. He knew how to catch the heart-throbs in his subject and had no scruples about exploiting them for the sake of effect. He

2. Influence

worshiped equality, reason, and natural rights. His readers likewise worshiped them until they became the ideals of a new generation.

E. Rousseau, 1712–1778
1. The man

The most popular of the philosophers was Rousseau. Rousseau was an eccentric genius with all the contrasts of virtue and faultiness to be found in many of the world's prophets; such as Mohammed and Columbus. For most of his life he was an intellectual vagrant supported by his patrons and earning money by music and his books. These books were written in fits of genius when he was suddenly inspired with some great message for mankind and feverishly wrote it down. It was thus that he wrote *New Héloise,* one of the most popular novels of the day. Likewise he wrote *Émile,* a book which lies at the foundation of modern ideas of education. In describing the education of Émile, Rousseau showed how Émile had been taught to express himself naturally and not to bridle his mind by learning all the traditions of civilization. The peculiar thing is that Rousseau himself had five illegitimate children, all of whom he put in a foundling asylum soon after birth mainly because he did not feel equal to the task of rearing them.

2. *The Social Contract,* 1762

The greatest of Rousseau's books was *The Social Contract,* a short uncompleted work in which he described the ideal form of government. Starting with the premise that " Man was born free and everywhere he is now in chains," Rousseau explained how man might be restored to that ideal, natural state. He repeated many of the ideas already advanced by the philosophers, such as natural law, government for the benefit of the governed, and division of powers. The chief merit of the book was that in his expression of the social contract theory so that the people could understand it he excelled any of his predecessors. According to Rousseau the Social Contract meant that in the beginning of things the state was created by a contract of all its members. This corporate body thus formed is the sovereign. Its will is absolute and its decisions are always right. For convenience its power may be delegated to a king, but in case the king is unfaithful to his responsibilities he may be dismissed by the sovereign. This according to Rousseau was the proper basis for government, and in preaching it he repeated over and over again certain words and phrases that became the slogans of the political revolution that later took place. These were such words as " liberty," " nature," " reason," " equality," " sovereign people," " free people," " will of the people," and " blind people." He was fond of such epigrammatic proverbs as " Obedience to law is liberty," and " Liberty can be acquired, but it can never be regained."

3. Influence

Of course his theory was fallacious historically, because the ideal, natural state which he pictured never existed. It was impossible to apply his ideas with any completeness, but nevertheless he expressed more forcibly than anybody else of his time the advanced thought on political science. He gave to his age the new language for which it had been groping. The reformers who came after him found in *The Social Contract* a program that they tried to practise literally. If it proved to be impractical, that was because Rousseau, like the rest of the philosophers, had no chance to verify and correct his hypotheses by experimentation. It remained for the political revolution to do that.

F. Other thinkers

Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were the four giants of political philosophy in the Old Régime, but there was a host of other writers with scarcely less talent than they. In addition there was a crowd of intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals who enjoyed discussing the new ideas, either because they understood them, or because they wanted to give the impression that they were acquainted with the latest fads in thought. Besides these there were the people who suffered from the evils of the Old Régime and welcomed the ideas of the philosophers as a panacea for their troubles.

G. Physiocrats

Among the crowd of people writing and talking the new ideas was one group known as the physiocrats because they believed in the rule (*kratos*) of nature (*physis*), and applied it to economic conditions. These were the people who cried out for a policy of *laissez-faire* (free trade) in industry and commerce. They wanted to abolish the regulations of the gilds, the interior customs lines and the restrictions on the grain trade. The government should cease to grant monopolies of trade in certain commodities, they said, and abolish the privileges accorded to certain industries. Mercantilism to them was a mass of fallacies, and they wanted to go to the other extreme of free trade.

H. Encyclopedists

Another group of philosophers were known as the encyclopedists. The name arose out of the fact that a scholar named Diderot was given the task of editing a French edition of *Chamber's Encyclopedia,* an encyclopedia that had recently been published in England with great success. Instead of merely translating it Diderot made it in reality a new work to which most of the advanced thinkers of the time were asked to contribute. Rousseau took charge of the articles on music, for instance. Consequently the *Encyclopedia* was quite radical, and the publication was twice officially declared suppressed, but in various ways the law was evaded and the *Encyclopedia* completed some fifteen years after its printing was begun. Its authors and those who sympathized with its ideas were given the name Encyclopedists. 1751–1765

VI. Interpretation of Old Régime
A. Old view

In order not to misunderstand the Old Régime it is essential to give the period a correct interpretation. The old view was that the Old Régime was a time of so many evils that they caused a revolution. Many historians made the mistake of raking together all the evils they could possibly find in the period, either because they wanted by contrast to exalt the good that was done by the French Revolution that followed it, or because they wanted to show sufficient cause for the Revolution. In either case this interpretation was misleading because reliable historians agree that conditions in France under the Old Régime were at least as good, if not better, than in any other country in Europe, and certainly better than in most of them. Besides, many of the evils laid to the charge of the Old Régime were evils of the age generally, such as imprisonment without trial and survivals of the feudal dues. It is possible without a great deal of effort to collect in any period of history in almost any country a catalogue of crimes almost as imposing as those laid to the charge of the Old Régime. However, the fact that proves most conclusively that it was not the evils in the

B. Objections

Old Régime that were most influential in bringing about the Revolution is that within a few months after the movement was well under way most of the evils generally listed were abolished, and yet the Revolution continued for years after that. The presence of evils might well explain why the people should rise in revolt and demand their abolition, but it fails to explain why after that they proceeded to change the whole structure of the government.

C. Correct interpretation

Consequently it is much better to interpret the Old Régime as a period in which elements of a new political world were already beginning to appear. Instead of looking upon the French Revolution as a current which ran counter to the Old Régime and swept it away, the continuity of history should be safeguarded by interpreting the Revolution as a highly rapid development of forces already in motion, such as increased centralization of government, and participation of the people in the rule of the country. Instead of gathering together all the evils to be had without regard to their importance, only those evils should be considered of interest which were widespread and caused changes. The complaints were not so influential as the new forces destined to become revolutionary.

When this interpretation is adopted, it is evident that the most powerful force in the Old Régime was the influence of the political philosophers. Their writings created in the minds of the people new ideas. These new ideas spread and ripened as they were repeated again and again. Eventually the time came when they were translated into action and then there was a political revolution. However, nothing in history can accurately be attributed to one cause alone. It was of course the combination of evils, discontent and new ideas that was more influential than any one of these conditions by itself.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

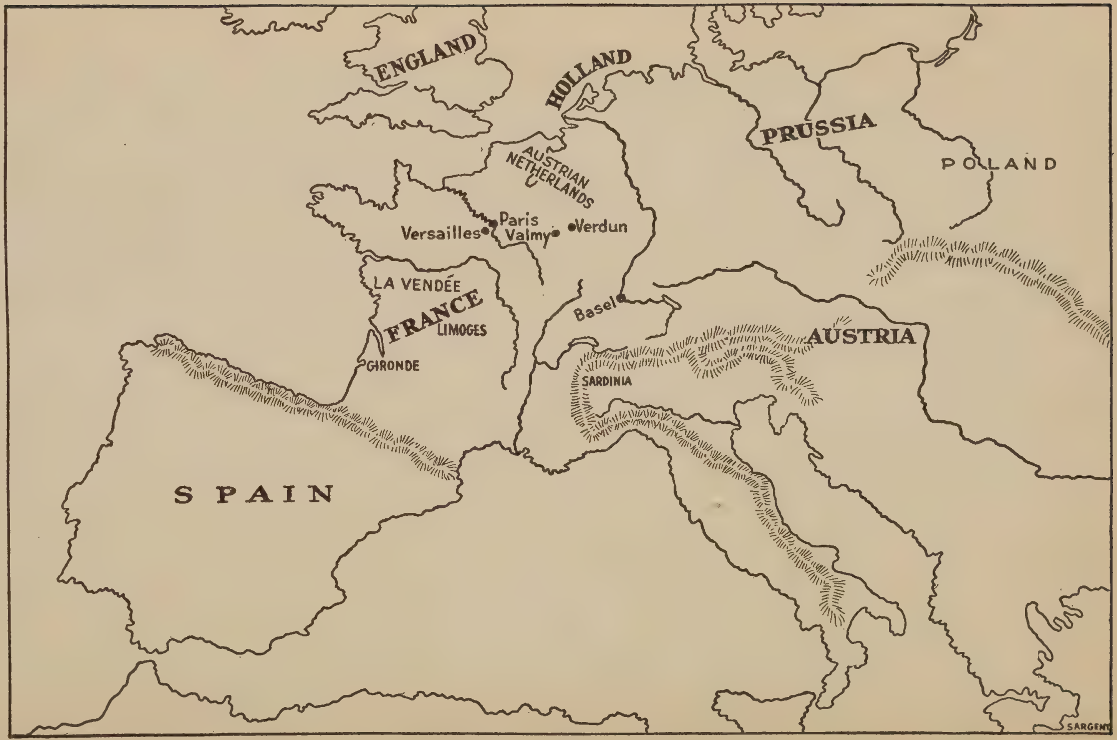
I. Benevolent despotism, 1774–1789
A. Personality of Louis XVI (1774–1793)

Historians have usually dated the French Revolution as beginning in 1789, and yet the revolutionary program which broke away from the Old Régime and swept all before it in 1789 was really inaugurated in 1774 when Louis XVI ascended the throne of France. Louis was born to be a mechanic and forced to be a king. He was decidedly unfitted for the task which was laid upon him. The age of the benevolent despots was at its height when he wore the crown of France, and Louis XVI too tried to play the part of an enlightened ruler, but with much less success than his more gifted contemporaries. One of his first deeds was to recall to Paris the parlement. It had been exiled from the city by Louis XV because it refused to register some of his decrees even after a *lit de justice*. If Louis XVI thought to gain the undying gratitude of the parlement by his act of good-will, he was sadly mistaken. They merely considered it a justification of their conduct, and were encouraged by this victory to dispute the royal authority the next time that it conflicted with their interests. Henceforth they posed as the champions of liberty against royal encroachments, but what they secretly wanted was more power for parlement, not liberty for the people.

1771

B. Ministry of Turgot, 1774–1776
1. The man

Soon after Louis XVI was crowned he appointed Turgot minister of finances. Turgot had the reputation of being the most skillful economist in France, and was probably better fitted than any other man to help the king solve the financial problems of the realm. He was a friend of Voltaire; had contributed to the *Encyclopedia;* and as *Intendant* of Limoges had changed the condition of that district from poverty to wealth. Unfortunately, while he possessed the knowledge of what needed to be done, he lacked the ability to do it in the


ENGLAND
HOLLAND
PRUSSIA
POLAND
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Paris
Versailles
Valmy
Verdun
LA VENDÉE
FRANCE
LIMOGES
GIRONDE
Basel
AUSTRIA
SARDINIA
SPAIN
SARGENT

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

right way. He was in too much of a hurry, too careless about conciliating opposition before he plunged ahead, and too determined to carry through his whole program without compromise.

2. His reforms

In finances his policy was to borrow no money, to keep the taxes as low as possible, and to economize. In a short time the virtues of this policy were proved by a tremendous reduction in the national deficit. Since Turgot was a physiocrat, he adopted an economic policy of *laissez-faire* and instituted a number of reforms demanded by his school. A famine in the first year of his ministry gave him an excuse for 1774 freeing the grain trade by removing the provincial customs duties. He claimed that the natural desire of each farmer and trader to seek his own profit would lead him to ship his grain to the market where he could get the highest price, and that would be the market where it was most scarce. Thus the portions of the country which needed it most would secure it and famines would be prevented. Unfortunately the failure of the next crop caused another famine, and the people instead of 1774 blaming it on the weather blamed it on Turgot. He also abolished all but a few of the gilds so as to remove their restric- 1776 tions on industry. The royal *corvée* — the obligation to render certain days of service to the king, usually on the roads — was also abolished. At the same time a new principle of equality of taxation was established by transferring the expense not to the *taille,* from which the nobles were exempt, but to the *vingtième,* a tax paid by all. One of his greatest achievements was the establishment of a bank that helped to postpone national bankruptcy for many years. In addition ministers in other departments made similar reforms.

3. Opposition

Such a policy created opposition, of course. The privileged classes were alarmed for fear their privileges would be swept away, and the parlement refused to register some of the decrees until forced to do so by the king. The beautiful but extravagant queen, Marie Antoinette, was offended by the economies in the royal household, and the king was not pleased when Turgot scolded him for lack of courage and reminded him that it was weakness which brought the head of Charles I

May 12, 1776 to the block. Consequently Turgot was forced to resign, and the gilds and *corvée* were restored.

C. Ministry of Necker, 1776–1781

1. The man

The next important minister to assume the burden of guiding Louis' attempt to reform conditions in France was Necker, a Protestant banker with a great reputation for wealth and

2. Loans

financial ability. On the basis of this reputation he borrowed large sums and won public favor by not increasing the taxes, although France entered the War of the American Revolution. However, the prosperity which he seemed to bring was deceptive, for the money was borrowed at high rates of interest, and no provision was made for the day of reckoning when it

3. Reforms

would have to be paid. At the same time he made several reforms, such as economy in government expenses, and the abolition of torture before trial. These were only moderate reforms to be sure, but he drew up a memoir for the king which advocated more radical changes, such as the abolition of the *gabelle*. Unfortunately for Necker this memoir was stolen and published before he had a chance to get the king's approval, and it turned the privileged classes against him. In order to regain public favor he issued a report of the treasury

1781 called the *Compte rendu*, in which by juggling figures he showed that there was a favorable balance when actually the nation was deeply in debt. Of course the public as well as the king gained the idea that Necker was a wizard as a financier. In reality it made the financial situation worse, because on the one hand the government spent money more lavishly when they saw a large balance in the treasury, and on the other the people objected to new taxes, because the nation apparently had plenty of money. Besides, the people felt complimented to be taken into the confidence of the government, and after this regarded themselves as entitled to a report of the treasury. Nevertheless, the opposition of the courtiers to the economies

4. Dismissal

and reforms of Necker was so great that Louis dismissed him.

D. Ministry of Calonne, 1783–1787

For a time the king found nobody of ability to manage the kingdom's wobbling finances until he called to his aid a versatile and tricky administrator named Calonne. In order to hide the poverty of the government he spent money lavishly and so established the idea that the state must be rich. On the basis of this phantom credit he borrowed huge sums, and gained the favor of the courtiers by lavish gifts and pensions. Such a delirious policy could not go on forever. Finally the bubble burst. Parlement refused to register any more loans, and the extravagance of the court not only shocked the public but also alarmed the creditors. Then Calonne completely reversed his policy, drew up a list of reforms, such as Turgot had suggested, and persuaded the king to call an Assembly of Notables in the hope that they would endorse the reforms. But the Notables were all members of the privileged classes, and they refused to be terrified into surrendering their privileges in order to save the country from bankruptcy. Instead they demanded an account of the treasury from Calonne, forced him to admit the deficit, and compelled him to resign. Their leader, an archbishop named Brienne, was given Calonne's position and the Notables were sent home.

Aug., 1786

1787

E. Ministry of Brienne, 1787–1789

The dismissal of the Notables did not help the financial condition of the realm, and Brienne was forced by circumstances to adopt Calonne's program, because there was nothing else to do. Parlement was obliged to register new taxes. Then after doing so it declared that the act was void and that only the Estates General could approve new taxes. This was a new political doctrine in France, and a clever move on the part of parlement, because it had been so long since the Estates General had met or done anything that nobody knew what it could do. A desperate attempt was made by the ministry to force parlement into submission, but public opinion was too strong in its favor. A temporary compromise was made, which failed to settle either the finances or the quarrel, and finally Louis consented to the demand that the Estates General should be called to deal with the situation. At the same time Brienne resigned, and Necker, the idol of the people, was recalled to office.

Aug. 8, 1788

II. Estates General
A. Call

As soon as the king had summoned the Estates General to meet in May of the next year, 1789, he called upon the people of France to give him any information or suggestions they might have for its composition and powers. The result was a flood of literature, mostly pamphlets, all discussing the problem of the Estates General. The essential feature of the problem was the Third Estate, because nobody expected the privileged First and Second Estates to do much in the way of reform. The most famous pamphlet on the subject was written by Abbé Sieyès, in which he asserted that the Third Estate was everything, that it had been nothing, and that it wanted to become something. By this pamphlet Sieyès gained a reputation of great knowledge on the proper organization of governments. The general consensus of opinion was that the Third Estate should have as many representatives as the other two estates combined, and that the vote should be taken by member and not by estate. This meant that the Third Estate would have an equal number of votes with the other two combined instead of one vote to their two. The king and Necker considered these suggestions carefully and issued a royal edict that the Third Estate should have twice as many members as the other two, but said nothing about whether the vote should be by member or by estate. Then a little later another edict prescribed the method of election, and also requested each electoral district to draw up a *cahier*, or list, of complaints and suggestions, to guide the Estates General in its work. At the same time the edict proposed a moderate plan of reform that the assembly might undertake, and intrusted to its care the control of the national finances. By such edicts Louis XVI and Necker became the heroes of the nation.

Dec. 27, 1788

Jan. 24, 1789

B. Meeting
1. Situation

When the Estates General finally met on May 4, 1789, in Versailles, the situation was tense with possibilities. The expectations of the people desiring reform had been raised to such a high pitch by the rapid trend of events in that direction that they confidently hoped for far more than an assembly of angels might have achieved. The philosophers had led the people to believe that a representative assembly had some kind of magical power. Everybody thought that Louis XVI was fervently devoted to the cause of reform, and that Necker was the invincible champion of a better world. Under such conditions they expected that beyond doubt the golden age could not fail to begin. For so many years one crisis after another had brought France to the verge of revolt that by 1789 men were entirely reconciled to the idea that there must be radical reform. Certainly even a careless observer who looked at the condition of the finances would have agreed with them, for the government was practically bankrupt, and the only way it could get money was by revolutionary measures. Something had to be done and done quickly. The Estates General was the last hope of the kingdom, and if that failed nobody knew what might happen. The situation was also complicated by the fact that the crops in the previous year had failed, and the pressure of famine had driven a starving, desperate horde of the proletariat to Paris in the hope that the magic of the Estates General might provide them with food. There they formed a restless, dangerous mob impatient for things to happen. 1788

2. Parties and their policies

The history of the Estates General can best be understood by observing first the three parties into which the actors in the drama were divided. One party was the government, led by Louis XVI and Necker. This party secretly intended to grant the assembly a few reforms until they had rendered sufficient financial assistance, and then, having gained that assistance, to dismiss the representatives and send them home. At the same time they underhandedly gave the impression that they favored almost unlimited reform. The second party was the privileged classes, whose natural policy was to keep their privileges at any cost. The third party consisted of the reformers. It was composed almost entirely of three groups: the representatives of the Third Estate; the parish priests, who formed a majority in the envoys of the First Estate; and some of the nobles, such as the Marquis de Lafayette. The contents of the *cahiers* showed that there was a widespread consensus of opinion on the main objectives of the reformers, and that on the whole their demands were moderate. The first objective was to gain the right to vote by member so that the combined votes of the Third Estate, the parish priests and the friendly nobles would give the reformers a clear majority. This must be done at all costs in order to gain their greatest objective — a constitution. In making this constitution they aimed to keep a monarchical form of government with Louis XVI, "the reforming king," at the head of it; to establish a representative assembly; to abolish the privileges of the upper estates; and to secure the natural rights of man. It was evident from the first that the reformers would not gain their demands without a struggle, but the definiteness of their objectives gave them a big advantage.

C. Evolution of the National Constituent Assembly, May 4, 1789–June 27, 1789

During the first two months of its existence the Estates General went through an evolution by which it changed into a new type of assembly called by a new name — the National Constituent Assembly. This change was important because it was revolutionary in itself and it was a fundamental cause of the revolution that followed. Since it was the product of events rather than intentions, the events must be carefully traced.

1. Government initiative

The development passed through three phases. In the first phase the government party took the initiative. The Estates General opened on May 4, 1789, with elaborate and pompous ceremonies, in which the most significant thing was the enthusiasm with which the king was received. It was evident that everybody expected great things of Louis. The next day Necker tried to steer the Estates into a speedy settlement of the financial difficulties by a long, dry and confused account of the problems involved. The reformers of course were disappointed. They wanted to hear about the vote by member, a constitution, abolition of privileges and other fundamental changes. One of the ministers did make a speech about reforms, but he only mentioned a few unimportant ones in a hazy way.

May 5, 1789

2. Initiative of privileged estates

The second phase of the evolution of the Estates General began on the next day when the privileged estates took the initiative by beginning to verify the credentials of their representatives separately from the other estates. This meant that each estate would sit and vote separately, and so the Third Estate refused to verify credentials that way. For weeks the deadlock continued while negotiations between the estates tried in vain to reach some compromise. Even an order from the king that they were to verify separately was unable to subdue the Third Estate.

May 28, 1789

Then the Third Estate took the initiative, and with that the third phase of the change in the Estates General began. The Third Estate invited the clergy to come and verify with them, and after waiting two weeks began to verify their credentials. Some of the parish priests came over a few at a time and joined with them. Encouraged by this support they took the title National Assembly, which had formerly been used when the Estates met as one body. Then they even proceeded to pass laws as if they were the entire Estates General. It was evident to the government and the privileged party that something would have to be done or their cause would soon be lost, so at the suggestion of some courtiers Louis summoned a combined meeting of the three estates, intending to tell them to verify separately.

3. Initiative of Third Estate
a. Invitation to clergy, May 27
b. Verification, June 12
c. National Assembly, June 17

Meanwhile the hall in which the Third Estate had been meeting was closed under the pretense of repairs, but unfortunately the deputies were not notified until they had already begun to gather at the gates on the morning of Saturday, June 20. The gates were locked and guarded by soldiers. This made a bad impression. The deputies were alarmed. It looked as if they were being tricked, as if they would be disbanded, if necessary by force, and sent home without doing anything to gain a constitution for France. Determined not to be frustrated in their ambitions, they hastily gathered in a near-by building used for a tennis court, and there took a solemn oath never to separate until they had given France a constitution. This was a significant action. It meant that they were henceforth a constituent assembly; that is, their main purpose was to draw up a constitution. That meant a complete change in the government of France from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. It also meant that other reforms would follow, for a constitutional monarchy was sure to abolish many of the evils against which there was so much complaint. The Third Estate showed no spirit of resentment against Louis personally, but they showed a decided spirit of rebellion against any power, royal or otherwise, that should try to dismiss them without their consent. This was representative government. The question was no longer whether the estates should verify credentials or not; the question was

d. Tennis Court Oath, June 20

now whether France should have a constitution and representative government, or whether the Estates General should be dissolved by force. On Monday the National Assembly met again, as they had decided to do, and their position was greatly strengthened when at this meeting the First Estate joined them in a body to verify credentials. Then they adjourned to meet after the royal session on the next day, for they wisely feared the king intended to disperse them.

e. Royal session, June 23

On June 23 the royal session of all three estates met together and was addressed by the king. He informed them that they must verify credentials separately, and also that they must leave feudal dues and similar privileges untouched, because these were rights of property which the government would defend. In a similarly arbitrary manner he listed a few reforms that he would grant and stated what the Estates General could not do. Not one word did he say about a constitution. Then commanding them to leave the hall he marched out first, as if after the king had spoken there was nothing more to be said. The whole speech showed how completely Louis XVI failed to grasp the situation. He should have seen that the time had come when the king was no longer to rule by saying the last word. After he was gone, the members of the National Assembly remained in their seats. The master of ceremonies reminded them of the king's command, and then Mirabeau, rising to his feet, replied in a voice that might well have been the voice of the people of France, " Go tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people and we will not leave except at the point of the bayonet! " This was open defiance. It was also the war-cry of a new era. Louis XVI, with characteristic cowardice in the face of strong opposition, yielded and they stayed. Then the deputies passed motions that their persons were inviolate and that they adhered to their previous decrees.

During the following days more members of the nobility joined them, while the king hesitated on what action to take. He thought of turning loose the soldiers on the defiant deputies, but upon good advice wisely decided not to do that. Everybody knew that if the Estates General was dismissed the last hope for restoring the shattered finances of the government would be gone, and the next day France would be bankrupt. Finally on June 27 Louis commanded all three estates to meet as one body, and they later took the title National Constituent Assembly. It was certain now that more would be done than just to settle the financial difficulties of the government or even abolish the privileges of the upper classes. France would be given a constitution based on the ideas of the philosophers and giving a share in the government to the people. This was revolution.

f. National Constituent Assembly, June 27

III. Conclusion: the attitude of Louis XVI

The French Revolution, which really began when Turgot abolished the restrictions on the grain trade, was well under way when the National Constituent Assembly was organized on June 27, 1789. Louis XVI by clever dodging had managed to maintain his popularity with both sides. To the privileged classes he was the royal master who resisted the demand for a constitution as long as possible. To the reformers he was a benevolent king who was forced by his ministers and courtiers to do many inadvisable things, but in reality favored a constitutional monarchy. As a matter of fact he was a weakling, who was eager to get the credit for being virtuous and anxious to escape the suffering that always comes to those who stand for a cause. Worst of all, he was unable to see that a new age of political organization was beginning and to accept it. He wanted to do the impossible by keeping his old absolute power while he made changes that swept away its supports.

The Main Periods of the French Revolution

- I. Evolution of the Estates General into the National Constituent Assembly (May 4, 1789–June 27, 1789)
- II. The First Constitutional Monarchy (June 27, 1789–Sept. 21, 1792)
  - 1. National Constituent Assembly (July 27, 1789–Sept. 30, 1791)
  - 2. National Legislative Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791–Sept. 20, 1792)
- III. First Republic (Sept. 22, 1792–May 18, 1804)
  - 1. National Constituent Convention (Sept. 21, 1792–Oct. 25, 1795)[1]
  - 2. Directory (Oct. 26, 1795–Nov. 9, 1799)
  - 3. Consulate (Nov. 9, 1799–May 18, 1804)

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

Selected Readings

1. **Louis XVI and his Court**, E. J. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 11–24.

2. **The Enlightened Despotism of Louis XVI**, L. R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*, 88–115.

3. **The Policies of Turgot and Necker**, J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 386–393; also in J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 235–347.

4. **The Failure of Calonne and Brienne**, S. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 105–113.

5. **The Summons of the States-General**, J. E. E. D. Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, 39–58.

6. **The Cahiers**, E. J. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, 342–358.

7. **A Cahier of 1789**, J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 397–400.

8. **The Influence of America**, J. E. E. D. Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, 20–38.

9. **The Evolution of the National Constituent Assembly**, L. R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*, 116–130.

10. **The Oath of the Tennis Court**, F. M. Fling, *Source Problems on the French Revolution*, 3–63.

11. **Mirabeau**, L. Madelin, *The Figures of the Revolution*, 31–64.

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[1] The National Constituent Convention met and took charge of the government on September 21, 1792, but the republic was not declared until the next day.

Famous Contemporary Books

A. R. J. Turgot, *Reflections on the Formation and the Distribution of Riches,* New York, 1911.

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See suggested books and readings for chapter XXI.
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F. M. Fling, *Mirabeau and the French Revolution,* New York, 1908.
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L. Madelin, *The Figures of the Revolution,* New York, 1929.
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A. Mathiez, *The French Revolution,* New York, 1928.
L. Say, *Turgot,* Chicago, 1888.
H. M. Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution,* 2 vols., Oxford, 1892.
H. Taine, *The French Revolution,* 3 vols., New York, 1892.
M. Whitcomb, *Typical Cahiers of 1789,* published in *Translations and Reprints,* vol. VI, no. 5, University of Pennsylvania.
B. Whitlock, *La Fayette,* 2 vols., New York, 1929.
P. F. Willert, *Mirabeau,* London, 1923.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST FRENCH CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

I. Emancipation of the people
A. Fall of the Bastille
1. Causes
a. Reaction
b. Situation in Paris
c. Dismissal of Necker, July 11, 1789

The formation of the National Constituent Assembly on June 27, 1789, was only a temporary victory for the reform party, because the privileged classes were unwilling to recognize it as a final defeat. Instead they began a movement of reaction to gather their forces together and overthrow what had been done. When the king had ordered the three estates to meet together to deliberate on certain matters, he had not recognized the existence of the National Constituent Assembly. The members of his court took the lead in the reaction, and constantly urged him to regain control. His brother, the Count of Artois, and his queen, Marie Antoinette, were especially active, and had a great influence over him. At their instigation Louis began to collect troops at Versailles to be used in case of necessity. Meanwhile the situation in Paris daily became more tense. There was a growing crowd of restless, unemployed, discontented people whose primitive instincts were aroused by the high price of bread and the danger of starvation. The revolutionary excitement caused by the events at Versailles and the expectation of further changes was increased by a vigorous campaign of propaganda in newspapers, pamphlets and curbstone oratory. Most disturbing of all, alarming rumors were constantly being circulated; especially rumors of some great danger, such as the suppression of the Revolution. Everything was ready for an explosion, and the match was touched to the charge when the news arrived that the king had dismissed Necker, for Necker was thought to be the leader of reform.

2. Events

The news of Necker's dismissal started riots in Paris. It was taken as a signal that the army would start to suppress the Revolution. The people were thrown into a panic by the prospect of a sudden attack. They broke into shops and seized arms. But no attack came and the orderly citizens organized an emergency police force called the National Guard. With its help order was restored on the next day. Meanwhile the leaders of the mob organized a demonstration, and on July 14, the day following, it broke loose. Crowds started for the arsenals to seize arms and ammunition. One section rushed upon the Bastille — an old fortress at the lower end of Paris that had the reputation of being one of the most gloomy prisons of the Old Régime. Its walls were so high and thick that with a little determined resistance it might have held off the mob, nevertheless by a series of mishaps it was induced to surrender. The crowd forced their way in, liberated the prisoners and massacred the guard. The Bastille had fallen! Though its fall was mainly an accident, the movement of popular opinion that brought it about was no accident. It was the irresistible force of an idea planted long before, and finally developed into the belief that a new era of political life had begun. Consequently the French ever afterwards justly looked upon the Fall of the Bastille as an event fraught with such momentous consequences that July 14 was made a national holiday.

July 12, 1789

July 13, 1789

3. Results

It symbolized the fall of the Old Régime — the age when frowning feudal fortresses could hold a terrified people in subjection. The tricolor cockade of red and blue for Paris with white for the Bourbons, became the national colors. Also, the king submitted to the will of the people; accepted the tricolor; legalized the National Guard with Lafayette as commander; recognized the National Constituent Assembly; and recalled Necker. However, Louis was merely dodging again. He made these concessions to keep his reputation of being a great and noble king, while at the same time he did not like them and hoped to regain complete royal control at the first opportunity.

B. August Decrees
1. Insurrections

The fall of the Bastille was the start of an uprising that rapidly spread throughout France. A mysterious rumor of some great approaching danger created a panic of fear that broke down all restraints. Mobs in the cities and peasants in the country attacked the local strongholds of oppression. Records of feudal obligations were destroyed and sometimes stewards were murdered, though on the whole there was comparatively little bloodshed. When the news of what was happening throughout France reached the Assembly, they appointed a committee to investigate the situation, and the committee made the absurd report that the Assembly should issue an address to the people advising them to obey the laws. Exasperated, one of the leading noblemen made a motion on August 4 that all feudal privileges be abolished with an indemnification for those which amounted to rights of property. Then followed a scene of excitement that lasted all through the night as noble after noble, caught by the contagion, renounced his feudal privileges. Some of them no doubt were moved by a spirit of self-sacrificing patriotism. Many of them, however, realized that the insurrections had actually swept away the feudal rights already, and that the best thing to do was to save something from the wreck while there was still time by voting for indemnification. Thus the feudal system, including the use of titles, was completely abolished. After many months the details were worked out, and then the people were disappointed to find that they were expected to pay for many of their gains.

2. Decrees, Aug. 4–5, 1789

March 15, 1790

3. March to Versailles

a. Causes

Following the August Decrees the situation in Paris still continued unsettled. One reason was because bread became daily more expensive, and threatened to become unobtainable at any price. The poor classes were constantly faced by starvation. Besides, the leaders of the people saw with apprehension that the privileged classes were attempting to recover the ground they had lost, and that the Revolution would never be safe as long as the Assembly and king remained at Versailles. To make sure that the recent gains would never be lost, they decided that the government must be transferred to Paris where the people could control it. They were alarmed as they saw more soldiers gathered at Versailles, and especially because these soldiers were Swiss and German mercenaries, not Frenchmen. The king had found that he could not rely on his regular standing army to attack the people and was calling in foreigners. The French people did not like that. These troops held a banquet, and Paris was thrown into an uproar by the rumor that during the festivities the Revolution had been denounced and the tricolor trampled on the floor. The people were stirred to action by excited leaders, especially by Marat, the violent editor of a paper called *The Friend of the People.* Oct. 1, 1789

b. Events, Oct. 5–6, 1789

On the morning of October 5, 1789, an excited mob, mostly women, gathered around the city hall in Paris demanding that somebody lead them to Versailles to get bread, to kill the queen and to bring the king back to Paris. Early in the afternoon they started off led by a young soldier, and in spite of the rain reached Versailles by evening. There they submitted their demand for bread to the Assembly, the deputies passed an order that all grain should be freely allowed to be transported to Paris, and the king signed it. Meanwhile the National Guard forced Lafayette to lead them also to Versailles, where they took charge of the defense of the town, and by midnight everything appeared to be quiet. At daybreak the people broke loose again. The guards in the palace fired on some of those who were too bold; the mob rushed the door of the palace; two of the guards were killed; and only the bravery of a few others enabled the queen to escape from the fury of the crowd to the king's apartments. Then Lafayette arrived upon the scene and finally succeeded in quieting the mob by appearing with the king and queen upon a balcony and embracing them. The royal family consented to return to Paris with the people, and the result was one of the queerest parades that history has ever seen — the royal carriage with Lafayette riding beside it surrounded by guards, yelling women, and all the riff-raff of a great city streaming back to Paris in a delirium of joy, because they had their king with them and they thought that now there would be enough bread. The king established himself in the palace of the Tuileries and soon afterwards the Assembly transferred its sessions to a hall near-by. Then things quieted down and for nearly two years there were no serious outbreaks. The people had been emancipated from the Old Régime. Though the control which they had gained was

c. Results

only temporary, they had made a crude beginning in the exercise of a share in the government.

II. Making of the constitution
A. Organization of the National Constituent Assembly

During the stormy days of the summer of 1789 the National Constituent Assembly steadily proceeded with its work of making a constitution for France. To accomplish this task they adopted a peculiar form of organization. One of the most important features was the arrangement of the seating, because a similar arrangement has been followed by European representative assemblies ever since. The conservative deputies sat on the right of the presiding officer as they faced him; the progressive deputies on his left; and those of neutral opinions in the center. Thus the terms Right, Center and Left came to mean roughly conservative, neutral and liberal, while finer divisions had special meanings, for example, extreme Left meant the radicals.

Soon after the Assembly was organized, a group of deputies led by Lafayette and Mirabeau acquired the habit of eating together, discussing the measures before the Assembly and formulating plans for united action. After the government moved to Paris they met in the Jacobin monastery and so were given the name Jacobins. Clubs affiliated with them sprang up all over France until the Jacobins became a powerful national organization. As time went on they grew more radical, and Robespierre was made their leader. In a few years Jacobin was a term used all over Europe to designate a radical revolutionist. Similar clubs were likewise formed with the same or different attitudes.

The sessions of the Assembly were far from orderly; the chairman being changed frequently and the crowd in the galleries cheering or hissing with democratic freedom. The deputies were enthusiastic orators, flooding every possible subject with a torrent of eloquence. They had a double task — to rule the country in a time when chaos threatened, and to construct a new form of government. They solved it by creating each part of the constitution as it was needed and putting it into effect as it was created. Then it was all finally gathered together into what was called the Constitution of 1791.

Before constructing the constitution they employed several

B. Declaration of the Rights of Man, Aug. 26, 1789

precious weeks in drafting a preamble called the Declaration of the Rights of Man. It was a brief statement of the main principles of democratic government as outlined by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Not only for France, but also for the rest of democratic Europe it became an almost divinely inspired manifesto of democratic dogmas. It proclaimed for all men and for all time that men are born free, remain equal, and are entitled to certain rights, such as liberty, which the state cannot justly violate. With this as a basis the Assembly went ahead to construct a constitution that would put it into action.

C. New administrative system

1. Separation of the powers

2. New divisions of the country

The most important feature of the Constitution of 1791 was the new administrative system for which it provided. The powers of government were separated into executive, legislative and judicial, each being given to a different department. The nation was redivided geographically into eighty-three main districts called departments and named from some geographical feature, such as the Rhine or the Gironde. These districts were again subdivided into smaller ones. The officers of these local districts were elected by the people, with the unfortunate result that the local and national governments often failed to work together. This defect was remedied in subsequent constitutions by giving the national government the power to appoint local officials. The central government was put in the hands of a king and a legislative assembly. The king was given little real power, while the legislative assembly was made very strong. In order to avoid an aristocracy it was composed of only one chamber. The judicial system was also reorganized by constructing a uniform, graded system of courts and by beginning the drafting of new legal codes. Financially the work of the Assembly was not so successful, even though this was the main work before them when they first met. The system they established was too highly complicated to be practicable, and when it failed to yield sufficient revenue, the deputies resorted to expedients that often caused more trouble.

3. Central government

4. Judicial system

5. Financial policy

One of these expedients was the confiscation of the property of the church and the issue of paper notes called *assignats* to be

D. Civil Constitution of the Clergy, Aug. 24, 1790

paid from the money gained by selling the land. Not only were the *assignats* so badly handled that they rapidly depreciated in value, but the confiscation of church property created the problem of providing some means of support for the church, and support could not be provided without some form of regulation. This was a task to the liking of the deputies, and they constructed a section of the Constitution of 1791 establishing a new code for the relations of church and state. This was called the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. According to this code monasteries were abolished and also all ranks of the clergy except archbishop, bishop, priest and vicar. The bishoprics were reorganized to correspond with the departments. The clergy were elected by the people, paid by the government and required to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution. Thus the church became a department of the state. However, this meant at least an administrative break with the pope, and the pope in self-protection refused to permit it. He ordered the clergy not to take the oath, and most of them obeyed him. On this account they were called non-jurors.

III. Counter-revolution

While the making of the constitution proceeded without any effective opposition, there were nevertheless many people who did not sympathize with it and tried to organize a counter-revolution that would overthrow it. As more and more people were offended by the measures of the National Constituent Assembly, they joined this movement until it became formidable. Soon after the fall of the Bastille the nobles, led by the Count of Artois, left the country in large numbers, in order to avoid danger from further outbreaks. They tried to influence foreign countries to intervene against the Revolution and organized armies on the Rhine that constantly threatened the new government. They were called *émigrés* and as the changes in France became more violent their numbers increased.

A. *Émigrés*

B. Non-jurors

After the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was established, the non-jurors also joined the counter-revolution. Although the parish priests had favored the Revolution at the start, at least half of them refused to take the oath and became the most bitter enemies of the new government. Half-starved and severely persecuted they stuck to their posts and helped organize several serious rebellions against the state.

C. King

In their resistance they had the support of the king, who signed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy but made no attempt to conceal his opposition to it. His strong religious convictions made him dislike dodging from one side to the other on this issue, and he decided to flee to the camp of the *émigrés* on the Rhine as soon as an opportunity presented itself. There he might organize an army and return to recover his power. The revolutionists had always been afraid that the court would persuade the king to leave France. Finally one night in June, 1791, the royal family disappeared. Paris was in consternation and the Assembly prepared for war. The next evening the king's carriage was stopped by chance near the German frontier just before he reached the armies of his friends. In disgrace he was brought back to practical imprisonment in the Tuileries, and there were no cries of "Long live the king!" as he passed. The Assembly pretended that he had been abducted, but it was a sorry pretense, because when he fled he had left behind him a statement condemning the constitution and Revolution. France wanted a monarchy and a revolution, but it became increasingly evident that Louis XVI could not be the head of both. He was temporarily suspended from the exercise of his functions until the constitution was finished and he had accepted it.

June 20–21, 1791

June 25, 1791

IV. Republicans

The king's treacherous attitude gave rise to a new party of Republicans led by Danton, a lawyer of Paris. They condemned Louis as a traitor and advocated a republic. A petition for his removal and trial was composed, and a huge mob gathered in the Champ de Mars to sign it. This alarmed the moderates in the Assembly and the National Guard was sent to disperse the mob. Several people were killed and the celebration was broken up, nevertheless the Republicans as a party lived on and merely bided their time until they could get rid of the king.

V. End of National Constituent Assembly

In September the Constitution of 1791 was completed, the king accepted it, and his royal power was restored. On September 30, 1791, the National Constituent Assembly passed out of existence after a motion had been made by Robespierre that none of its members would be eligible for membership in the first Legislative Assembly. The purpose of the motion was to allow the new government to make a fresh start. Oratorically Robespierre declared, "The Revolution is finished," and theoretically it should have been, for France had been given a new constitution; a constitution which according to the principles of the philosophers was technically correct. However, real constitutions are written in the hearts of a people, not on paper, and the new machine was not destined to run so smoothly as its inventors fondly expected it would.

VI. National Legislative Assembly, Oct. 1, 1791–Sept. 20, 1792
A. Enemies of Constitution of 1791
1. *Émigrés*
2. Non-jurors

One reason why the Constitution of 1791 lasted only a little less than a year was because it was faced from the start by a formidable array of enemies created in the preceding period of the National Constituent Assembly. There were the *émigrés* gathered on the border and striving to start a war. There were the non-jurors, who cultivated among their parishioners a hatred for the new government. There was the king who was negotiating with foreign powers for an attack upon the Constitution at the same time that he took the oath of allegiance to it. The foreign powers themselves were at last awakening to the fact that the French Revolution was only one phase of a political revolution that threatened to spread within their own borders. At first they had either sympathized with the reformers or rejoiced to see such a powerful enemy as France weakened by internal strife, but the flight and capture of the king made them see that in a sense the cause of Louis XVI was the cause of all European aristocrats. The greatest enemy of the Constitution, however, was the masses. They were becoming more excitable in their language, and using such terms of greeting as patriot and citizen. Their revolutionary enthusiasm expressed itself in their clothes, for they adopted the red cap symbolizing emancipation, and they displayed their admiration for equality by insisting that all men should wear long trousers like the workingmen. Those who thus discarded knee-breeches for long trousers were called *sans-culottes*. Three great leaders organized their enthusiasm: Marat, the journalist, Danton, the ward politician, and Robespierre, the

3. King
4. Foreign powers
5. Masses

idealist. Though they may not all have realized then that they wanted to overthrow the Constitution of 1791, and Robespierre certainly did not, events were to show them that it was just as unsatisfactory to them as it was offensive to the counter-revolutionists.

B. Legislative Assembly

1. Members

The National Legislative Assembly which came into office on October 1, 1791, proved to be quite unequal to the difficult task that lay before it. Due to Robespierre's motion its members were inexperienced in the technique of parliamentary action. Though the Left was in the minority, it contained by far the most energetic members of the Assembly. Within the Left itself the most vigorous deputies were a group called the Girondists, because they came from the department of the Gironde. They were on the whole enthusiastic, sentimental young lawyers with a passion for fine phrases. They tolerated the monarchy, but at heart they wanted a republic like that of ancient Rome. One of their leaders was Madame Roland, a talented woman whose salon was their meeting place. The Assembly made one blunder after another. It ordered the *émigrés* to come back, knowing that they would not, and then confiscated their property for disobedience. They passed stringent laws against the non-jurors, and insulted the king by taking away the title "Your majesty." As if they were not satisfied with making enemies enough by these actions, they launched France upon a war, commonly known as the War of the First Coalition against France. It was to develop into a long series of wars with most disastrous results.

2. Blunders

C. Foreign war, 1792

1. Causes

There were three main causes for the opening of hostilities. First, there was the danger: on the one hand to Europe that the revolutionary contagion from France might spread to them with the same violent effects, and on the other to France from the *émigrés* and non-jurors supported by foreign countries. Thus both sides had good reason to feel that they fought in self-defense. Second, the Girondists deliberately adopted a policy of war, because they believed that the king was a traitor to the country and they hoped that the emergency of war would force him to reveal his true attitude instead of dodging back and forth. Besides, they were enthusiastic to spread the new religion of democracy through the rest of the world. Third, Louis himself wanted war, because he was sure that France would be defeated; then he would be put in absolute power again by the *émigrés*, would intercede for France, and would regain the adoration of his subjects. With such causes at work it was not strange that the increasing hostility between France and Austria gave France an excuse for sending an ultimatum to her ancient foe, and then declaring war on April 20, 1792. Soon afterwards Prussia joined Austria as her treaty obligations required her to do. The first events of the war were disastrous for France, as Louis had expected. Sure that his policy was winning he unwisely acted too soon by vetoing two acts necessary for defense and dismissing the Girondist ministers. After that there was no longer any doubt in the mind of any patriot that the king was a traitor.

2. Declaration

3. First events

D. First invasion of Tuileries

This gave the Republicans the chance for which they had been looking. They organized a demonstration on the anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1792, and as the mob was marching by the Tuileries it suddenly rushed into the palace, cornered the king and demanded that he retract his veto. However, Louis, confident of victory in the war, was firm, and the demonstration failed. For a time there was a reaction in favor of the king, because of such insulting treatment, but sentiment soon turned against him when the leader of the Prussian army, which had joined the Austrians, threatened to annihilate Paris if the royal family were injured. That made it look as if the king were certainly in league with the enemy. With this to help them the Republicans carefully organized another demonstration with the deliberate intent of forcing the king from office. Delegations of the National Guard were brought in from all over France — one of them from Marseilles singing a stirring new song called the *Marseillaise,* that eventually became the national anthem of the French. Early on the morning of August 10 the bells sounded the call to arms. A group of men took possession of the city hall and established a provisional government of the city called the Insurrectionary Commune. The mob rushed for the Tuileries, and the royal family fled for safety to the hall of the Assembly, while the

E. Second invasion of Tuileries, Aug. 10, 1792 brave Swiss guard of the palace resisted till the last man was killed. The next day the king was suspended and a Provisional Executive Council headed by Danton was appointed to take charge of the government until a convention could meet to draw up a new constitution for France.

F. Deposition of king, Aug. 11, 1792

The Constitution of 1791 had failed and the main reason it failed was because it provided for a monarchy. As long as Louis XVI lived he was the only person qualified to be the king. Unfortunately, while he pretended to accept the position of a limited monarch openly, he was secretly plotting against the Constitution. This completely unfitted him for the position of king, and the only form of government left for France was a republic.

VII. Provisional government, Aug. 11–Sept. 20, 1792

A. Advance of the enemy

During August the situation of France became desperate. The army of the enemy advanced toward Paris with almost no opposition. Lafayette deserted to the Prussians after the king was deposed. Wild rumors spread that the royalists in the prisons were plotting to break out and attack the city, and the masses were so excited that they readily believed them. Then Verdun fell and the way to Paris was open. A panic broke out, and all the pent-up hatred against the counter-revolutionists, that had been nourished for so long by such bloodthirsty papers as *The Friend of the People,* vented its fury upon the helpless prisoners. While Danton remained inactive and other officials actually aided the mob, the people broke into the prisons and in a red fury of five days massacred over a thousand defenseless priests and other suspects without trial. This outburst was called the September Massacres, and was followed by similar acts of cruelty all over France. Then the beastly thirst for blood was momentarily satiated, and the fear of the enemy was removed by a repulse of their forces at Valmy. Danton by superhuman efforts had recruited an army that rushed to the front and saved France. The next day after the battle the convention met that was to draw up a new, republican constitution for France.

B. September Massacres, Sept. 2–6, 1792

C. Repulse of the enemy, Sept. 20, 1792

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

I. Establishment of the Republic, Sept. 22, 1792

On September 21, 1792, the National Convention met to draw up a new republican constitution for France, and the next day was declared the first day of the French Republic. Yet none of the philosophers had thought that a republic was best for France, almost nobody wanted one when the Estates General met in 1789, and the establishment of it was received with little enthusiasm. The republic was forced upon France because there was nothing else to do. The deputies who came to Versailles in May, 1789, had started with rosy dreams of a perfect, Utopian government for France. They had made changes with a reckless hand. Each change had involved other changes and then still more changes. It was impossible to stop and it was more than impossible to go back. France was driven into a republic and still the end was not yet.

II. Struggle of Girondists and Jacobins

Like the National Constituent Assembly, the Convention faced a double task — to construct a constitution and to govern a country on the verge of chaos. The latter proved to be the most pressing task and was made extremely difficult by strife that broke forth at once between the two most powerful groups in the Convention: the Girondists and the Jacobins. It is difficult to explain why they thirsted for each other's blood, because on politics there was little difference in their ideas. The deepest cause for their strife was personal antipathy. Madame Roland, who led the Girondists, detested both Robespierre and Danton, though the latter tried to mediate between the two groups. The Girondists accused Marat and the Insurrectionary Commune of Paris of having perpetrated the September Massacres. Another cause of contention was their eagerness to take opposite sides on every issue. For example, the Jacobins stood for the control of Paris over the national government, and the Girondists stood for control by the de-

A. Causes

1. Personal Antipathies

2. Disagreements

partments. The Jacobins sponsored the cause of the proletariat, especially the Parisian mob, and the Girondists championed the rights of the bourgeoisie. In addition their quarrel was made worse by various unfounded rumors brought by each against the other and readily believed in the heat of the struggle.

3. Unfounded rumors

B. Conflicts

1. Trial of king

For a time they fenced warily over various disputes and then they came to close quarters in a conflict over one of the greatest problems of the Revolution — the trial of the king. Though Louis had dodged from one side to the other very cleverly as their fortunes rose or fell, he was finally brought to trial for treason, and there was no lack of evidence that he was guilty. After the Convention voted him guilty, they faced the real problem of what should be done with him, and on this problem the Girondists and Jacobins divided — the Girondists advocating life imprisonment and the Jacobins demanding death. It was a bitter struggle and the decision was close, but the Jacobins with the help of the mob in the galleries frightened the Convention into voting for the execution of the king. A few days later he was guillotined. This was the most merciful form of capital punishment that the Revolution had been able to find, and one granted to all as a sign of equality. Louis unquestionably deserved the punishment as judged by all standards of the time, and yet so cleverly had he worked for both sides and avoided responsibility for either that the reformers ever afterwards regarded him as a sincere but weak reformer, while the counter-revolutionists venerated him as a martyr to their cause. As a matter of fact he had rendered great services and inflicted great injuries upon both through his desire to gain admiration and avoid blame. His death was a strategical defeat for the Girondists. Their policy had been poorly chosen, because they were chiefly responsible for the deposition of the king, and yet in his trial they had been his defenders. His death also had a decisive influence on the course of the Revolution, for it meant that everybody even remotely responsible for it would certainly be punished by death if the Republic was overthrown. Henceforth they were in constant danger and their only path to safety was in pressing on to still further

Jan. 18, 1793

Jan. 21, 1793

changes. They could not go back — they had to go forward at any cost.

2. War
a. Policy

The second great issue which proved to have an important bearing on the conflict between the Girondists and the Jacobins was the conduct of the war. During the National Constituent Assembly Robespierre had gained his first real applause by the motion, "The French nation renounces any war for conquest." Two years later war was declared and again France asserted that it was not a war for conquest but only for defense. In spite of these idealistic claims the war soon became a war for conquest. Moreover, the French had a new gospel of democratic government that they wanted to give to the rest of the world, and they justified their conquests on the ground that they emancipated the people of the lands which they conquered. Thus the Austrian Netherlands were taken by the victories of a general named Dumouriez, and other territories were added elsewhere. The period of victories was followed, however, by a period of disasters. The conquests of the French and the execution of the king alarmed the rest of Europe. England became so hostile that France recklessly declared war on her and soon afterwards on Holland and Spain as well. As if this coalition of enemies was not enough, a revolt broke out at home in the province of La Vendée. Then Dumouriez was defeated in the Netherlands and tried to retrieve his personal fortunes by plotting against the Republic. His plot was discovered in time, he fled to England, and thus France lost her best general. This was a serious blow to the Girondists, not only because they were losing in the war which their ministers were conducting, but also because Dumouriez was a Girondist and his treachery cast suspicion on all his party.

May 22, 1790

b. Victories

c. Disasters

Feb. 1, 1793

March 7, 1793

April 5, 1793

d. Emergency measures

These disasters made the situation of France so desperate that the Convention resorted to emergency measures. Orders were issued to recruit a huge army of 300,000 men. To accelerate the recruiting, agents of the Convention were created called deputies on mission. They not only went throughout the country urging people to enlist, but they were also sent in pairs to the different divisions of the army. There they watched both generals and privates for any signs of treachery like that of

Dumouriez, and, if they found any, at once arrested the person. A special court, called the Revolutionary Tribunal, was created to try cases of disloyalty, and was given a highly effective organization of judges, jurors and a public prosecutor. Similar tribunals were organized throughout the country. A strict censorship was established over newspapers, meetings and all forms of public expression. Most important of all, a Committee of Public Safety was established and given control of the executive powers of the government. It was composed of twelve men, changed every month, and gradually it gained almost complete control of the government. All of these emergency measures violated the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, because the demands of war were incompatible with the demands of liberty. The changes made at the beginning of the Revolution involved France in war, and the war involved still further changes that carried even the revolutionists beyond their desires. The constant danger of defeat was used to justify anything.

March 9–29, 1793

April 3–7, 1793

3. Expulsion of the Girondists

By this time the conflict between the Girondists and the Jacobins had become so bitter that it developed into a direct attempt by each to expel the other from the Convention. The Girondists brought Marat to trial, only to have him acquitted. This increased the prestige of the Jacobins. They deliberately organized a *coup d'état* — that is, an attempt to change the government by force. On June 2, 1793, the Convention was surrounded by a mob which demanded the expulsion and arrest of the leading Girondists. After a feeble resistance the Convention yielded and the Girondists were expelled.

III. Reign of Terror, June 2, 1793–July 28, 1794

A. Policy

The *coup d'état* of June 2, 1793, was the beginning of a period of Jacobin supremacy that is better known as the Reign of Terror. It was called the Reign of Terror because the government adopted a deliberate policy of terrorizing the people into submission. After all the enemies of liberty were exterminated, then the Terror was to be discarded and a full democracy established. Meanwhile people were executed on the least pretext. The Revolutionary Tribunal increased its activities and all were liable to arrest who were suspected of any attachment to the Old Régime, such as nobles, non-jurors, and relatives of *émigrés*. Arrest usually meant conviction followed by execution in a few days. This policy was adopted mainly for three reasons. First, the disasters in war placed the Jacobins in a desperate situation, for they were responsible for the death of the king and would certainly be killed if France was defeated. Not only that, but the Revolution would be overthrown and the property confiscated by the Revolution would be taken from its new owners. Besides, there were insurrections by the non-jurors and the Girondists that increased the danger and demanded stern measures. Second, there was a food shortage which made the proletariat ready for mob action to support the Jacobins in return for a guarantee that they could buy bread at a fixed price. Third, there was the class conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The Constitution of 1791 had given the bourgeoisie control of the government and done little for the proletariat. Now they gained control of things, with the leadership of the Jacobins, and started what was really a new revolution of the masses against the middle class.

B. Causes
1. War

2. Food shortage

3. Class conflict

The Reign of Terror was a period of achievement from the very first. All the emergency measures adopted a few weeks before were strengthened and made more efficient. Never did a group of public officers work with greater devotion, self-sacrifice, and determination than the Committee of Public Safety. In a few weeks a constitution for a republic was drafted to quiet the fears of the bourgeoisie, and then suspended until conditions became normal. The revolts at home were suppressed fiercely and successfully. The army was raised to a greater pitch of excellence than ever before by Carnot, the "organizer of victory," and under the leadership of brilliant young generals put the forces of France's enemies on the defensive. Within France political, economic and social reforms were begun that were far in advance of anything known to the world up until that time. A new metric system of weights and measures was inaugurated that has ever since been of immense value to mankind. Plans were laid for an elaborate system of state education. Slavery and imprisonment for debt were abolished. A new calendar was instituted dividing the year

C. Achievements

1. Constitution of 1793

2. Victories

3. Reforms

Aug. 1, 1793

into equal months named from the weather and arranging the weeks on a metrical basis of ten days each. In order to erase the past, the first day of the Republic, September 22, 1792, was declared to be the first day of the year I of a new era.

D. Periods

After the danger from the revolts at home and the enemy abroad was relieved, the Reign of Terror fell a prey to that greatest enemy of all revolutions — division and strife. Having discarded the standards of uniformity used in the past the French found it was no easy matter to agree on new standards. A series of conflicts ensued, each resulting in greater tyranny.

1. Conflict of Commune and Committee of Public Safety

March, 1794

There were two sets of leaders in the Convention who had united to expel the Girondists. After the common danger was over they separated. These were Robespierre and his friends, who controlled the Committee of Public Safety, and Hébert and his friends in the Insurrectionary Commune of Paris. The quarrel between them came to a head when the Hébertists tried to organize an insurrection and failed. They paid for their failure with their lives.

2. Conflict of Danton with Robespierre

April 6, 1794

Then a new quarrel broke out between Robespierre and Danton. Danton led a party of moderates who thought that the time for severity and wholesale executions was past. However, the members of the Committee of Public Safety had too heavy a load of guilt on their shoulders to risk a reaction that might go too far and give the friends of those they had executed a chance to take their lives in revenge. Robespierre, who had been Danton's friend till now, turned against him and Danton was sent to the scaffold. As he rumbled by Robespierre's lodgings in the cart that carried him to his death, he cried out with a true spirit of prophecy, "You shall follow me, Robespierre!"

3. Rule of Robespierre
a. Personality

After Danton's death, Robespierre ruled supreme for a period of almost three months. He was a young lawyer of a peculiar personality in which the dominant element was an enormous pride. His room was filled with pictures, but they were all of the same person — himself. An insatiable vanity expressed itself in his prim, neat dress, his carefully powdered hair, and the bright colors of his clothes. In defiance of the condemnation of knee-breeches as a relic of aristocracy he continued to wear them in order that he might display his elegant silk hose. Even his extraordinary virtue was a source of pride, for it made him drink only water in a nation fond of wine, and so far removed him from all suspicion of graft in a time when most officials were peculators that he was called "The Incorruptible." Flattery was the staff of life to him and anybody who criticized him was forever afterwards the object of his bitter vengeance. Another dominant element in his personality was his idealism. Mirabeau said, "This young man will go far, he believes all that he says." He was constantly prating about "virtue" and gloating over such rhetorical phrases as, "The terror without which virtue is powerless, the virtue without which the terror is a curse." It was this idealism that made him so pitiless, because anybody who disagreed with him was more than an enemy; he was a wicked villain who must be exterminated for the good of society.

b. Policy

His policy had two purposes, of which the first was to establish the reign of virtue. By this he meant a republic on the exact model depicted by Rousseau in his *Social Contract*. This was carried even to the extreme of substituting for Christianity a deistic type of religion called the worship of the Supreme Being. His second purpose was the extermination of all the enemies of his ideal, so that it would then be safe to restore complete liberty. Under his supremacy the Terror reached the height of its ferocity, and the guillotine was kept busy executing hundreds of people who had been given only the pretense of a trial. France must be given a perfect form of government at any cost!

However, in emphasizing the bloodiness of the Reign of Terror, especially during the rule of Robespierre, there is danger of falling into error. The total number of people executed in Paris, or even in all France, was small compared to the enormous sacrifice of human life in the unnecessary wars either of the eighteenth century or of the Napoleonic period after the Revolution. The total number of people killed during the Terror was far less than the number now put to death by traffic accidents in the United States alone during an equal period.

c. Fall

Robespierre was not entirely responsible for the ferocity of the government. He was beyond doubt largely the figurehead of a group of men who exploited his abilities as an orator, his popularity as a leader, and his idealism as a dreamer to cover up their own activities behind the scenes and keep themselves in power. As Napoleon later said, " Robespierre was the scapegoat of the Revolution." At the time when Robespierre was least active the executions were most numerous. Also, ferocity had a cumulative effect, and it grew like a bad habit as the Reign of Terror continued, so that executions were certain to be more numerous in 1794 than in 1793. The men who perpetrated them could not have done so a year before, nor have refused to have done so at the time. The constant menace of death created a panic of fear in which nobody felt safe. One member of the Convention, seeing Robespierre gaze at him absent-mindedly one day, cried out in a spasm of fright, " Oh, my God, he believes that I am thinking something! " Nobody knew but that his turn to mount the steps to the guillotine might come next, for Robespierre made vague threats that alarmed everybody.

While matters were in this condition he retired to the country for a vacation, and during his absence the Committee of Public Safety divided into two parts — his friends and his enemies. Upon his return he realized that a plot was being formed against him, but with grand disdain he refused to plot in return. Instead he announced a policy that would give him complete control of the government. His enemies saw that they must act quickly or all was lost. During the night they completed their plans, and in the meeting of the Convention on the next day the open fight began. Robespierre's spokesman had hardly begun to speak when he was interrupted by Tallien, a commissioner whose charming young wife was in prison awaiting death. " The curtain must be torn away," he shouted, and all over the Convention there were cries of approbation. Speech after speech was made attacking Robespierre and his followers. Whenever they tried to answer, the chairman drowned their voices by ringing the bell used to maintain order. Robespierre looked in vain for support and finally was arrested and led away to prison. Still the fight was not over. The Commune of Paris was devoted to him. They freed him from prison, assembled a crowd around the city hall, and finally persuaded him to defy the Convention. But his hesitation proved to be his ruin, for while the mob was waiting to rescue him, a shower dispersed them, and they went home thinking nothing would be done until morning. His enemies gathered together a small force, invaded the city hall, and captured him before the insurrection, which he was organizing, was completed. Though he tried to shoot himself, he missed his aim, and a few hours later he followed Danton, as Danton had said he would, to the guillotine.

IV. Return to constitutional government

The death of Robespierre on July 28, 1794, proved to be the sudden ending of the Reign of Terror, and nobody was more surprised than the men who had executed him. They had expected merely to rid themselves of a dangerous dreamer. Instead they found that they had discarded the man who in the eyes of France was the embodiment of the Terror. For so long he had been generally regarded as the leader of the Terror that when his head fell in the basket everybody took it for granted that the period of bloodshed had ended. The terrible danger that made the Terror necessary had passed, and a period of reaction began in which France returned to a system of constitutional government. In this period of reaction the first important feature was the abolition of the institutions which had dominated France. The Committee of Public Safety was reorganized so as to make a tyranny impossible, and the Revolutionary Tribunal was changed to insure a fair trial. Most of the men who had led in the recent atrocities were executed, and the meeting place of the Jacobins in Paris was closed. Even the name of the square where most of the executions took place was changed from Place de la Révolution to Place de la Concorde. There were a few scenes of violence that looked like the infliction of a new reign of terror upon the leaders of the old, but these were not severe. As a last desperate effort the Jacobins appealed to the mob to save them, and twice they invaded the hall of the Convention. By this time, however, the deputies were veteran warriors who knew how to stand their ground until their friends came to the rescue and drove off the mob. All of this meant that the bourgeoisie regained

A. Abolition of the Terror

April 1 and May 20, 1795

control of the government and reëstablished constitutional methods.

B. Victories in war

April 14, 1795

Meanwhile by means of diplomacy and skillful fighting France managed to rid herself of three of her enemies. Prussia made the Peace of Basel in order to be free to have a hand in the third partition of Poland. In Holland the Batavian Republic was established by a revolution, and a close alliance was made with France. Then Spain withdrew and only England, Austria and Sardinia were left at war. The royalists had seized the opportunity afforded by the reaction to start revolts, but these were suppressed. Though the majority of the people were royalists at heart, it was impossible for France to return to a monarchy yet, because most of the members of the Convention had voted for the death of the king, and their only safety lay in maintaining the Republic.

C. Constitution of 1795

At last a new constitution was completed — the third in the history of France. It was much like the Constitution of 1791. The chief differences were that it provided for a republic instead of a monarchy; that the executive power was given to a Directory of five men and not to a king; and that the Legislative Assembly was composed of two chambers. Various property restrictions on voting and office gave the bourgeoisie control of the government and excluded the proletariat from any real power. At the same time the deputies tried to keep themselves in office by passing a decree that two thirds of the members of the new Legislative Assembly must be chosen from the membership of the Convention. This high-handed procedure aroused the ire of the National Guard and they organized an insurrection against the Convention. The defense of the building where it met was put in the hands of a young artillery officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. During the night he hastily gathered some cannon in front of the Convention. The National Guard had not expected this. Almost all day they waited, not daring to attack, and then late in the afternoon they charged. Their charge was met by a deadly reply of grapeshot, and, though they fought bravely and the struggle was fierce, it was only a little while until the insurgents broke ranks and fled. The chief importance of the episode was that

D. Insurrection of Oct. 5, 1795

it brought to the front in Napoleon a personality so forceful that he dominated the history of France during the next two decades. A few days after the repulse of the National Guard the Convention came to a close and there began the next period of the history of the Republic. It was called the Directory because the chief executive power was exercised by a commission called the Directory. After a few years the Directory was replaced by the Consulate and the five directors gave place to three consuls. The story of how this happened belongs to the career of Napoleon Bonaparte.

E. End of Convention, Oct. 26, 1795

1799

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CHAPTER XXV

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

Introduction

When Rousseau wrote his *Social Contract* he said, "I have a presentiment that some day this little island of Corsica will astonish Europe." Before the eighteenth century had passed away his prophecy was fulfilled, but in quite a different manner from the way he had expected. In his day Corsica was renowned as the little island that had maintained a brave fight for independence first from Genoa and then from France. Out of this island he expected that there would arise an ideal democratic government. What actually came forth was a man who at first looked no different from other men, and later proved to be one of the greatest dictators the world has ever known.

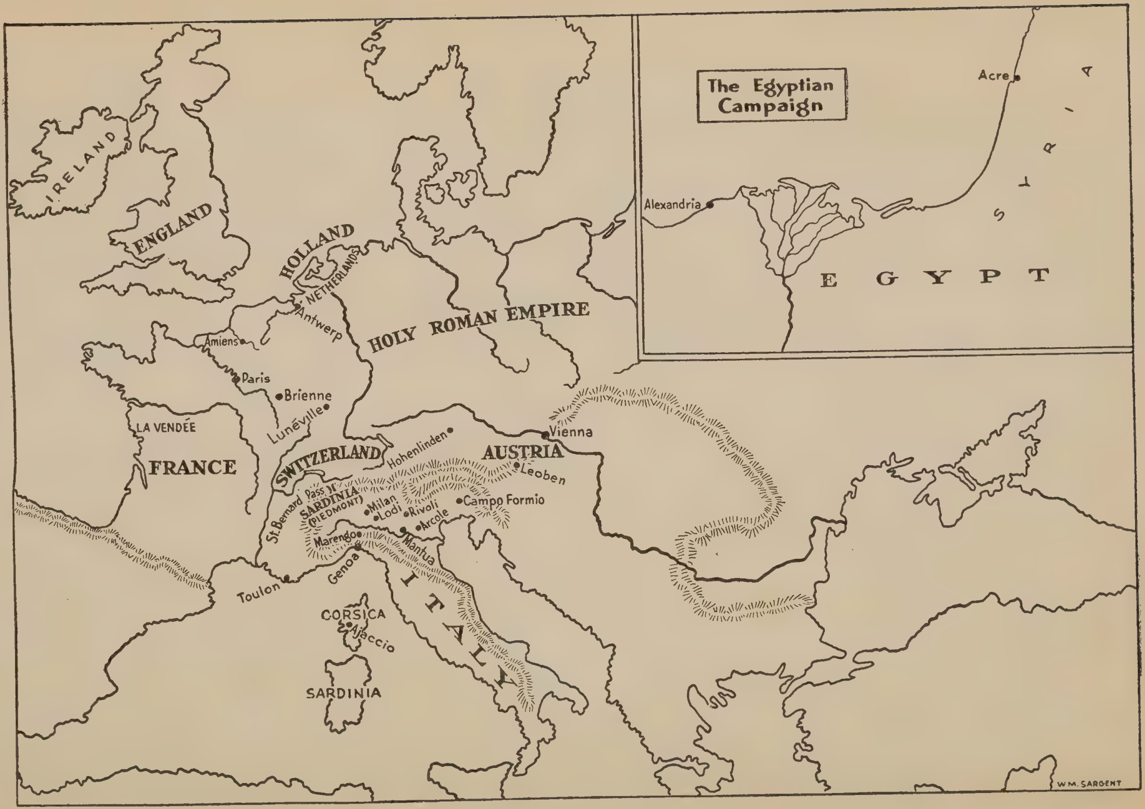
I. Youth
A. Birth and family

Napoleon was born on August 15, 1769, in the town of Ajaccio in Corsica. Though his father and mother were both Italians and Italian was his native language, he was born a French citizen, because Corsica had become a French possession just the year before. It was fortunate for him that his family was regarded as the most prosperous and important in the little town, for it gave him a sense of superiority that helped him in life. Though his father was not a man of exceptional abilities, his mother was distinguished by beauty, dignity, common sense and a fortitude that withstood prosperity as well as misfortune. He had an older brother named Joseph and six other brothers and sisters, for all of whom he showed a clannish spirit of devotion characteristic of the Corsicans.

1768

B. Education
Dec. 15, 1778

Like most boys Napoleon had a strong desire to be a soldier, and, when only nine years of age, was sent to France to be educated at the military schools of Brienne and Paris. There he spent nearly eight years that were far from happy ones. While he felt himself superior to the other boys, he found that they regarded him as a poverty-stricken foreigner, and so he protected himself by a taciturn withdrawal from the crowd. In


IRELAND
ENGLAND
HOLLAND
NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Amiens
Paris
Brienne
Lunéville
LA VENDÉE
FRANCE
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
Hohenlinden
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Leoben
Campo Formio
St. Bernard Pass
SARDINIA
(PIEDMONT)
Milan
Lodi
Rivoli
Arcole
Marengo
Mantua
Genoa
Toulon
ITALY
CORSICA
Ajaccio
SARDINIA
The Egyptian Campaign
Alexandria
Acre
EGYPT
SYRIA
W.M. SARGENT

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

mathematics he showed himself particularly brilliant, and he was also fond of literature, history and other subjects. Always he was devoured by a boundless ambition to become great, famous, preëminent — an ambition so fierce that at times it made him miserable. Finally he gained a commission in the artillery, to him the most attractive section of the army, and soon afterwards he set himself to the task of writing a mammoth history of Corsica that would earn him great renown. However, the work was never finished, for the French Revolution broke out, and Napoleon, carried away on its tempestuous current, was destined to make history, not to write it. 1785

C. Revolution in Corsica

The chaos into which France was thrown by the events of 1789 seemed to afford Napoleon a splendid opportunity to achieve an ambition to free his country. He returned to Corsica to find his family and countrymen on fire with a renewed zeal for independence, but their zeal was cooled when Corsica was honored by being made a separate department of France. Paoli, the patriot who for years had led the Corsicans in their fight for independence, was placed at the head of the department. These events gave Napoleon little chance to gain renown as a liberator. When the monarchy was overthrown in 1792, Paoli's devotion to France began to weaken. He entered into negotiations with the English, and the Bonapartes led a revolt against him on behalf of the Republic. The revolt was a failure and finally they were forced to flee. Thus Napoleon's second great ambition came to naught, and thereafter he was forced to identify his destiny with that of France. June, 1793

D. Siege of Toulon

On returning to France he was given a post in an army sent to subdue the rebellion in the city of Toulon. The rebellion was aided by an English fleet. Napoleon pointed out that the key to the siege was the capture of the fort on the peninsula at the entrance of the harbor. After three months of labor, in which his skill as an artillery officer was the deciding factor, the fort was seized, the English were forced to flee and the city was taken. Dec. 17–19, 1793 Napoleon was rewarded by promotion to the rank of brigadier-general and then was transferred to the Army of Italy, May, 1794 where he became interested in the possibilities of a campaign there. In fact he was so interested that when he was ordered to join the Army of the West that was subduing the revolt in La Vendée, he ignored the order and stayed in Paris so long hoping it would be changed, that he was dropped from the service. For a time he was even in dire want as a result of his insubordination.

Sept. 15, 1795

E. Defense of the Convention, Oct. 5, 1795

However, it was fortunate for him that his destiny made him stay in Paris, for circumstances arose that gave him the opportunity of a lifetime. The Convention passed the decree that two thirds of the new Legislature must be chosen from their own number. Then the National Guard planned an attack upon it and a man named Barras was given the task of defending the Convention. But Barras was no soldier. In the emergency he thought of Napoleon and decided that he was just the man he needed. On the memorable fifth of October Napoleon saved the Convention and made himself famous. He was appointed commander of the Army of the Interior and admitted to the inner circle of society. This was evident from the next event of his career — his marriage to Josephine de Beauharnais. Josephine was the widow of General Beauharnais, who had been executed during the Reign of Terror, and she herself had just barely been saved from the guillotine by the fall of Robespierre on the day she expected to die. Though not beautiful, she was exceptionally gifted with poise, gracefulness and a social tact which gave her a place among the élite of society. Napoleon fell madly in love with her and in a few weeks they were married. The marriage was all in his favor at the time and greatly helped him to make the next step upward in his career.

F. Marriage

March 7, 1796

II. First Italian Campaign, 1796–1797

A. Appointment, March 9, 1796

Two days after the wedding he was appointed to the command of the Army of Italy. The appointment was partly due to his defense of the Convention, partly to the fact that his plans for a campaign in Italy met the approval of that great military organizer Carnot, and partly to Josephine's personal influence with Barras.

B. Plan of war

In 1795 France had made peace with all her enemies except Austria, England and Sardinia. The war might well have ended there had she been willing to renounce all desire for conquest and return to the boundaries held before the fighting began. This, however, the Directory was unwilling to do, and Austria was forced to fight for her possessions in the Netherlands, while England regarded Antwerp as too important a stronghold to be left in the hands of the French. The plan of campaign adopted by the Directory for the war in 1796 involved three attacks: Jourdan was to lead an army into the Netherlands, Moreau was to advance with the Army of the Rhine through Germany toward Vienna, and Napoleon was to march across northern Italy to meet Moreau north of the Alps.

C. Army of Italy

The Army of Italy was in the poorest condition of the three, and was expected to accomplish the least. The soldiers were clothed in little better than rags. On the other hand they were seasoned veterans, they were commanded by a staff of generals of first class ability, and in numbers they were only slightly inferior to their opponents. Napoleon showed himself a genius by the way in which he whipped this demoralized force into shape. In his first conference with the generals under his command he won their profound respect. By his fiery proclamations and fervid speeches he aroused the enthusiasm of the men. With indefatigable labor he managed to provide them with equipment, and in a short time he had them ready to fight a campaign that exacted the greatest effort and skill from both officers and men.

D. Napoleon's tactics

In the so-called First Italian Campaign Napoleon put into practice, better than anybody had ever done before, the new principles of military tactics made necessary by the improvement in weapons during the eighteenth century and taught in the military schools of France. The most significant change was the lessening of the weight of artillery so that the cannon could be hauled around in the field by horses and quickly shifted from one place to another. This made possible the separation of the army into divisions each with its own artillery, cavalry and divisional general. A division thus equipped could defend either itself or the rear of the retreating army against a much larger force. The divisions were kept widely separated until just before the battle and then were suddenly concentrated on the point of attack. Usually before the attack was launched the enemy's position was weakened by an artillery bombardment and then skirmishers were thrown out to screen the main attack. The main attack was made by a long column of men charging against the weakest point in the line, and cavalry was used for a flank attack or to follow up the victory. For these tactics a thorough knowledge of the geography of the country was indispensable, so that the divisions could be shifted with the greatest facility. Napoleon showed an uncanny genius for mastering this art, for choosing the weakest point in his opponent's defense, and for striking with lightning rapidity where least expected.

E. Campaign, April 17, 1796–April 18, 1797

The First Italian Campaign began with an advance across the southern Alps in which Napoleon easily won every battle because he always managed to have a greater number of his men on the field than did the enemy when the fighting started. The Sardinians were separated from their allies in less than two weeks and forced to make an armistice giving Napoleon complete control of his line of communications through their territory. The next important battle was at Lodi where Napoleon's army had to cross a long bridge and attack the Austrians on the other side. At first the soldiers fell back before the deadly fire of their enemies. Then Napoleon himself rushed to the front, and calling on his men to follow him led them across the bridge to victory. By this act of reckless courage he won the deep admiration of his army and he also gained control of the important city of Milan. The Austrians were then forced to fall back into Mantua, the heart of a group of fortifications that controlled northern Italy and barred Napoleon's path to Vienna. The siege of Mantua was long and bitter, and Napoleon's task was complicated by the fact that four times he had to turn to fight off relief armies larger than his own. Fortunately for him the Austrian generals made serious tactical blunders and he was skillful enough to take full advantage of them. Still the fight was by no means easy, and in the battle of Arcole he nearly lost his life by another act of intrepid bravery like that at Lodi. Had it not been that one of his subordinates quickly stepped in front of him and was

April 28, 1796

May 10, 1796

Nov. 15–17, 1796

killed in his stead, Napoleon would have died on the field of battle. Finally the victory of Rivoli crushed the last attempt to relieve Mantua, and the city fell. Jan. 14, Feb. 2, 1797

After that the Austrian resistance crumpled sadly, and even the brilliant young general, Archduke Charles, was unable to stay the Corsican's advance up through the Alps until he reached the town of Leoben only a hundred miles from Vienna. There he stopped and made an armistice. Though it seemed strange that Napoleon should have stopped while riding on the flood tide of victory, there were many good reasons why he did so. The two armies north of the Alps had failed to reach their objectives, and if he continued on to Vienna he would have had to fight his way alone. That would have been an extremely difficult as well as a useless task, because his problem was not to conquer Austria but to gain favorable terms of peace. Besides, the Directory had failed to support him adequately. In fact, they had even shown jealousy of his success and sent spies to watch him. If he completely subdued Austria, the Directory could discard him. If, on the other hand, he left the enemy strong, then they would still need him for a protector.

F. Italian republics

While the negotiations for peace dragged on, Napoleon showed he had other talents besides those of a brilliant general. He established a luxurious court at a palace near Milan, where he sought to impress all who came by the magnificence and splendor of his surroundings. He treated the envoys of Austria and the Directory with equal disdain, and completed a work already begun of reorganizing northern Italy into a group of republics. These were to act as buffer states against Austria. Through them he gave to the Italians a new spirit of independence, and made them pay for it by exacting tribute both in huge sums of money and also in priceless works of art. The actual boundaries of the republics he formed were not important because they were not destined to endure. It was the experience of freedom from Austrian control that was Napoleon's priceless gift to Italy. While engaged in this work of reorganization, he found time to send one of his generals to Paris to suppress a plot by the royalists to overthrow the Directory. Sept., 1797

Though Napoleon had little liking for the Directors, he could not afford to allow the Bourbons to be restored, for they would certainly have dismissed him.

G. Treaty of Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797

After the fighting was ended the little Corsican showed himself a first-rate diplomat. He realized only too well that all the advantages gained by the heroic bloodshed on the battlefield might easily be lost in the bargaining for the terms of peace. A little shrewdness here was worth more than the lives of ten thousand men. So he threatened, cajoled and traded with complete disregard for the orders of the Directory, until finally he gained for France the advantageous Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria, October 17, 1797. This treaty provided that France should be given the Austrian Netherlands and all the territory west of the Rhine as far as Switzerland. In return Austria was given Venice, which Napoleon took by ruthless robbery and handed over to her. Also, the German princes who had possessions west of the Rhine were promised compensation with land inside of the Holy Roman Empire. The Italian republics established by Napoleon were allowed to stand.

Dec. 5, 1797

Napoleon returned to Paris in glory, no longer just one of the many young generals that sprang up during the French Revolution, but the greatest of them all. As a general, as a statesman and as a diplomat he had shown himself at the age of twenty-eight to be the equal of the best, and his countrymen idolized him even beyond his merits. Much was due to his genius; much also was due to the combination of favorable circumstances: for instance, the opportunities provided by the French Revolution, the good fortune of being in Paris in October, 1795, the friendship of Barras, the bad aim of the Austrians at Lodi, and the devotion of the man who died for him at Arcole. He " abandoned himself to his destiny," and his destiny did not forsake him. As he himself said, " A thousand centuries shall roll by before the circumstances gathered around my head shall push another out of the crowd to repeat the same drama."

When Napoleon returned to Paris, his chief problem was what to do with himself. He could not keep on fighting, be-

III. Egyptian Expedition
A. Causes
1. Rivalry with England

cause the war in Italy was over. He could not exhibit his gifts as a statesman, for he had no office. Fortunately for him there was still one country at war with France — the island kingdom of Great Britain. The Directory in spite of their jealousy quite cheerfully appointed him commander of the Army of England, because it was about as hopeful an appointment as would have been the Army of Greenland. An attempt to invade England through Ireland had failed, while naval victories by the British had given England almost complete command of the sea. The English Channel, narrow as it was, was far too wide for the French to cross and yet the Directory still continued war with England, partly because they still felt the same urge of commercial rivalry that had caused so many wars between the two countries, and partly because England championed the cause of the royalists. She sheltered them, and stirred up sentiment in their favor in France. As long as England was supreme upon the sea France could never feel safe, and, as long as the French Republic continued to exist, England felt in danger. Both fought in self-defense, and both used the poorest means to gain it — war. After Napoleon received his new command it did not take him long to see that an invasion of England was impossible, and so he decided to strike at the heart of British commercial power by invading Egypt. With Egypt in her possession France could not only control the lucrative Mediterranean trade, but she could also shut off the overland route to India and might even be in a position to conquer that vast country.

2. Napoleon's ambition

However, Napoleon had still a better reason for making an expedition to Egypt. He was not content to be the greatest general in France, he wanted to control the government. To do that he would have to overthrow the Directory. As long as he won victories in Europe he only strengthened the Directory. Yet he had to win victories to keep his military glory from fading. If he went to Egypt, he could still win victories to maintain his prestige and at the same time leave the Directory to become so hopelessly incompetent that France would welcome him back as a dictator. Yet even this grand dream was not enough to satisfy the appetite of Napoleon's voracious ambition. He planned to conquer all the East, like Alexander, and perhaps achieve even greater things.

B. Expedition

July 1, 1798

July 21, 1798

The Egyptian Expedition sailed from Toulon on May 28, 1798, and it was characteristic of Napoleon that he included a group of noted scholars to study the history and culture of Egypt. Their work was to prove a greater contribution to the welfare of mankind than his, for they founded the modern science of Egyptology, and by discovering the Rosetta stone with inscriptions in Greek, Demotic and hieroglyphics they provided a key for reading those strange Egyptian characters which for long ages no man had understood. Napoleon's destiny was still with him, for it was just by good fortune that his fleet traveled slowly and arrived at Alexandria three days after the British fleet under Nelson had departed from that port to look for him elsewhere. Soon after he landed he easily defeated an army of Egyptians, and then showed his wisdom by not attempting to conquer the land but by trying to win the affections of the people. He even hinted that his whole army might easily be converted to Mohammedanism.

Aug. 1, 1798

March 19–May 20, 1799

July 25, 1799

Soon afterwards he found that it was easier to establish himself in Egypt than to maintain himself there. A month after he landed Nelson came back and in the Battle of the Nile won undying fame by destroying the French fleet. After that it was impossible for Napoleon's army to return to France. Turkey declared war upon him and sent an army down through Syria. Napoleon easily defeated it and even tried to conquer that land. In this attempt he was stopped by the British and Turks at the long and exhausting siege of Acre. Then another Turkish army sailed for Egypt, forcing Napoleon to return hastily. Although he easily vanquished them in a battle marked by brilliant strategy, he was no nearer to conquering the East or even erecting a permanent barrier across the route to India than before.

Jan. 2, 1799

However, Napoleon's destiny still favored him, for events in Europe had worked in the way he wished. England, under the skillful guidance of one of her greatest statesmen, William Pitt the Younger, had organized a Second Coalition against France joined by Russia, Austria, Turkey and some smaller states.

They invaded Holland and Switzerland, drove the French out of northern Italy, and killed one of their best generals. When Napoleon learned of these events, he lost no time in handing over his Egyptian army to one of his generals, setting sail with a few others for France, and, as his destiny would have it, eluding Nelson's watchful fleet. The army he left behind was in a hopeless position and finally surrendered to the English.

Aug. 21, 1799

Aug. 30, 1801

IV. Overthrow of Directorate

A. Situation

When Napoleon arrived in France he found that the situation was in his favor. The fame of his great victories in Egypt had gone before him, and nothing was known of his disasters because he had carefully suppressed or perverted all information about them. The Directory, which had always been in financial straits, was worse off than ever, and had even repudiated two thirds of the national debt. The military crisis had passed shortly before his arrival, because the allies were checked in Switzerland and Holland, but the loss of Italy was still a rankling shame to the Directory. Besides, the Jacobins and other radicals had gained control of the national Legislature and were beginning a strong drive to take away the government from the conservative Directors. While it was unfortunate for Napoleon that the passing of the military crisis deprived him of an opportunity to make himself indispensable to France, there was still a chance for him to take sides in this party strife and achieve supremacy in that way.

Sept., 1799

For some time Napoleon cautiously surveyed the situation, while he carefully avoided all suspicion of political ambitions by associating with scholars, reading papers on Egyptology, and pretending to be interested only in higher learning. Meanwhile he learned that a plot had been formed by Abbé Sieyès — the same man who had championed the Third Estate and was regarded as an expert on the drafting of constitutions. Sieyès had been chosen one of the Directors. His plan was simply to have two other Directors resign along with him and to have the Legislature dissolve after appointing a committee including himself to draw up a new constitution. The Abbé still needed a man of war to give military power to his *coup d'état,* and finally Napoleon decided to join it. The Legislature was composed of two councils, the Ancients and the Five Hundred, and it helped the plan considerably when Napoleon's brother Lucien was elected president of the Five Hundred, because most of the members of that body could not be relied upon to support the plot.

B. *Coup d'état* of Brumaire, Nov. 9–10, 1799

On November 9, 1799, the plot, known as the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, got under way. First the Ancients ordered the sessions of the Legislature transferred to St. Cloud on the ground that they had received rumors of a plot which menaced its safety. Of course the rumors were imaginary, as many suspected, and the real reason was to get the Legislature away from the protection of the Jacobin mob and out where it could be surrounded by soldiers. Then three of the Directors resigned, making it impossible for the rest to do business and practically forcing their resignations. At this juncture Napoleon's impatient ambition got the better of him, for he issued a statement bitterly criticizing the Directory for its incompetence. That was enough to show which way the wind was blowing. When he appeared before the Ancients on the next day, their suspicions were already aroused. They began to question him, he lost his head, made wild, incoherent statements and finally left the hall to avoid greater confusion. The Five Hundred refused even to listen, but rushed upon him as soon as he appeared and might have killed him had he not been carried in a faint from the hall. Nobody has ever satisfactorily explained how the cool victor of so many hard-fought battles was so completely overcome on this occasion. Fortunately for him the day was saved by the cleverness of his brother Lucien. The latter rushed out to the soldiers; made a typical politician's speech, accusing the deputies of being in the pay of England; and promised to be the first to bury a dagger in his brother's throat, if ever he betrayed the liberties of the French. Then he called upon them to clear the hall. With a shout the soldiers rushed upon the deputies and forced them to scamper away as best they could. Early the next morning a committee of the Legislature appointed a commission including Napoleon and Sieyès to draw up a new constitution and the *coup d'état* of Brumaire was a success.

In the deliberations of the commission Napoleon sat at the head of the table. Sieyès soon found that he had chosen a master instead of a servant. A constitution was drawn up which kept all the forms of republican government, and gave the real power to an executive body of three consuls, of whom the First Consul was supreme. By a huge plebiscite of the people the constitution was ratified and Napoleon was chosen First Consul for a term of ten years. France, tired of confusion, disaster and inefficiency intrusted her destiny to a virtual dictator who knew the secret of splendor, achievement and efficiency better than any other man of his time.

C. Establishment of Consulate, Dec. 25, 1799

The first task of the young dictator after the establishment of the Consulate was to bring the War of the Second Coalition to a triumphant conclusion. With diplomatic wisdom he offered peace to England, knowing that it would be refused and thus England would be put in the wrong. As a matter of fact France had no good reason for further war, for she was in possession of her natural boundaries and safe from any serious injury by her neighbors. Nevertheless, the French as well as Napoleon were ambitious for conquest, so the frightful war for glory went on. With a rapidity and a resourcefulness that took his enemies entirely by surprise Napoleon led an army through the St. Bernard pass into northern Italy and caught the Austrians in the rear. They were compelled to attack him at Marengo in a battle where Napoleon made a sad error in strategy due to overconfidence. Thinking the attack was only a pretense he sent off divisions to find the main army of the Austrians and cut off their retreat. The Austrians did not retreat. Instead they drove back the French, and Napoleon was on the verge of defeat himself when fortunately one of the absent divisions commanded by Desaix returned just in time. They charged upon the Austrian flank, crushed their attack and drove them from the field in confusion. In the fighting Desaix, the hero who saved Napoleon, was killed. The next day the Austrians surrendered and Italy was once more in the possession of the French. A few months later Moreau won a great victory north of the Alps at Hohenlinden, and Austria was compelled to make the Peace of Lunéville. It practically reëstablished the provisions of Campo Formio.

V. War of Second Coalition, 1798–1801

A. Continuation by Napoleon

B. Marengo, June 14, 1800

C. Hohenlinden, Dec. 3, 1800

D. Peace of Lunéville, Feb. 9, 1801

E. Treaty of Amiens, March 25, 1802

Once more England was left to fight France alone, and once more she showed herself quite equal to the task. In fact the tide of war turned so strongly in England's favor that in 1802 Napoleon made peace by the Treaty of Amiens. Unfortunately, like many treaties it failed to settle the fundamental issues and proved to be only an armistice.

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CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEONIC ADMINISTRATION IN FRANCE

I. Rise to supreme power

A. Life consul, Aug. 2, 1802

B. Emperor, May 18, 1804; crowned Dec. 2, 1804

Napoleon's achievements as First Consul were so great that less than three years later he was given the office for life with the power of choosing his successor. Still his ambition was not satisfied, and in 1804 he was proclaimed Emperor of the French with the very definite intimation that he was the virtual successor of Charlemagne. The pope was present at his coronation, but Napoleon put the crown of laurel leaves on his head with his own hands. Though he was officially called the Emperor of the Republic, the name republic was deliberately avoided, and thus the First Republic actually gave way to the First Empire.

II. Policy

The power of Napoleon was founded primarily upon his ability as a general, yet as an administrator he proved equally able, and rendered a far greater contribution to the welfare of France. This was the side of his life which was most creditable and of which he himself in his serious moments was most proud. "I would have made Paris the capital of the universe," he said, "and of all France a veritable romance." In forming his administrative policy he had two sources from which to choose: the Old Régime and the Revolution. He showed his genius by making a remarkable compromise of the two. "He consecrated the Republic and exercised the royalty." From the Revolution he took its most important contributions to human progress, while at the same time he guarded the continuity of history by retaining many of the customs of the Old Régime. He realized that people may easily change the names of things, but habits cannot be changed so quickly. Those habits, whether right or wrong, represent a choice made by long experience, and any government that would suit the peculiar temperament of its people must be in accord with them. Because of this wise spirit of compromise a large part of Napoleon's system of administration endured long after he himself fell from power, and was incorporated in the government of France permanently. "I have made a beginning," he declared, "time will do the rest."

III. Political organization
A. Centralization

One of the main features of the political organization of his administration was centralization. Practically all the control of the government, legislative, executive and judicial, was concentrated in the hands of the emperor. Yet this did not mean that Napoleon was a despotic tyrant, as is often thought. On the contrary he spent many wearisome hours in debating the conduct of the government with his council and his ministers. In some cases he even yielded to their opinions, and always he avoided offending the public if possible. Centralization meant hard work for Napoleon and no ruler labored more arduously than he. Another feature was the adoption of the principle of appointment by the emperor rather than election by the people in the choice of public officials. He appointed a prefect at the head of each department, a sub-prefect at the head of each *arrondissement* and a mayor for each commune. These officers were assisted by elected assemblies whose powers were closely restricted. To make such a vast number of appointments wisely was no small task, and it is significant that Napoleon was usually successful in choosing men of ability and devotion. One reason was because he showed no party spirit in making his selections. Jacobins, royalists, or others were taken with regard to ability rather than party. He insisted that every citizen should be given a full opportunity to enter government service and to rise even to the highest posts, if fitted to do so. The same system of appointment of local officials still endures in France today.

B. Appointment of local officials

C. Ministers

In choosing his ministers Napoleon showed unusual wisdom. He selected men of outstanding ability and at the same time he was careful to keep them subordinated to himself. To accomplish this he never had them meet as a body. Instead he consulted them separately. Another method of controlling them was to divide the functions of the most important departments of government between two ministers. For instance, the minister of police shared his powers with a prefect of police in

Paris. Only two of Napoleon's ministers ever broke away from his control and they were the two most gifted men who served him: Talleyrand and Fouché. Talleyrand was minister of foreign affairs. He had taken an important part in the National Constituent Assembly and knew how to play the game of unscrupulous diplomacy as well, if not better, than any man of his time. Fouché had been one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety under Robespierre, and had joined the plot that overthrew him. He managed to survive the reaction that followed, and was made minister of police by Napoleon. An uncanny ability for uncovering plots and crushing them made him a master of police methods. Likewise he was an expert at making plots himself, and for such a talent Napoleon had plenty of need in his effort to conquer Europe. When both men showed a tendency to interfere with Napoleon's affairs, he dismissed them, and they were forced to wait for an opportunity to get their revenge. In a few years the opportunity came.

IV. Finances

Napoleon's solution of the financial difficulties of France would have been sufficient to have made him one of her greatest men had he done nothing else. Both the Old Régime and the Revolution had failed to solve this crucial problem of government, and when Napoleon became First Consul the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy. In less than three years he put the country on a sound financial basis with a balanced budget. This superhuman task he accomplished partly by making a wise use of the advice of experts and partly by his own astute policies.

A. Credit restored

Credit was restored by a variety of methods. The victory of Marengo, for instance, established confidence that the Consulate would endure. The depreciated paper currency which existed in so many varieties was bought up at its real value and only reliable currency issued. The huge tribute which he exacted from conquered countries was used to meet national obligations, and an iron-clad policy was adopted of not borrowing any more money. A rigid rule of economy was enforced to the limit. Officials were required to keep a strict account of their expenditures, and those who spent the least for the maintenance of their districts were highly honored.

B. Economy

Napoleon himself inspected even the smallest details carefully, and years afterwards he could recall at ease the prices spent in furnishing his palaces. He was constantly aware of the exact state of the nation's finances: receipts and disbursements. No miser could have been more parsimonious in some ways than he. Immense sums of money were thus saved, but at the same time great injury was done by the mechanical way in which economy was applied. For example, priests and teachers were almost starved to death by the low salaries paid them, and naturally their work suffered.

C. Taxation

The Napoleonic system of taxation was a great relief from that of both the Old Régime and the Revolution. Instead of increasing the number of taxes, Napoleon tried to reduce them. This was made possible by a rigid system of collection, so that those actually levied were made more profitable. No new direct taxes were established, and when additional income was found necessary, it was obtained by indirect taxes, such as the government monopoly of the sale of tobacco. When it is remembered that during most of his reign France was engaged in terrific wars, such a policy would seem incredible were it not that Napoleon by his conquests made his wars pay for themselves.

D. Bank of France, June 18, 1800

One of his greatest financial achievements was to establish the Bank of France by buying one of the banking houses in existence in Paris and making it a government organization. It carried on the same banking activities as any other bank, and in addition was given the monopoly of the right to issue bank notes. Thus it helped tremendously to stabilize currency and financial conditions.

E. Sinking fund

In addition Napoleon also started a sinking fund to maintain the price of national bonds.

V. Code Napoleon, 1800–1810
A. Problem

One of the greatest monuments to Napoleon's ability as a statesman was the Code Napoleon. This established a new system of law. Under the Old Régime the vast number of different and conflicting codes of law had been one of the chief evils to which the philosophers objected. The National Constituent Assembly made a beginning on a new, unified code, but their work was never completed, because the unsettled era of the Revolution was no time for the codification of law. What it did accomplish in this field was too much of a departure from the past to be acceptable, and when Napoleon attacked the problem there was a strong desire to discard some of the extreme measures of the Revolution and react to the Old Régime. He appointed several committees of experts, who drew up codes of the different kinds of law and submitted them for discussion by the Council and the Legislature. Napoleon presided personally over a large number of the sessions in which it was revised, and in spite of his lack of legal experience made many valuable contributions to the finished product. He supplied the dynamic energy that pushed the thing through and kept it from getting mired in the slough of technicalities. His grasp of principles in a broad perspective helped to keep the fundamental meaning of law before the codifiers. From him they gained a vision of new ideals which were likely to be forgotten in the formal work of organizing the experience of the past. In some cases he actually dictated the laws included, and far too often his decision was wrong.

B. Five codes
1. Civil Code, Aug. 12, 1800–March 21, 1801
a. Civil equality
b. Sanctity of family

The Code Napoleon was composed of five codes. The first of these was the Civil Code. In the construction of this division one of the fundamental principles was civil equality. Another was the sanctity of the family. To guard this the father was made supreme and was given a power of disciplinary arrest over his children that was like the *lettres de cachet*. At his order the magistrate was compelled to imprison a child (under sixteen for not more than one month, and between sixteen and twenty for not more than six months) without trial and without any statement of accusations. The father would have to pay the expenses, but the privacy of his family troubles was strictly protected. A son could not marry without his parents' consent until he was twenty-six and a daughter until she was twenty-one. The wife was subjected to the husband in many ways. She had no right to give, sell, mortgage or even receive any common property without his consent, though she had control over her own private property. Divorce was made easier than under the regulations of the Roman Catholic Church and was even granted by mutual consent under certain restrictions. This was partly another evidence of the French instinct to guard family affairs from morbid

c. Inheritance

d. Private property

e. Religious toleration

f. Citizenship

public curiosity, because it made it unnecessary for one party to accuse and prove the other guilty of offenses that brought disgrace upon both. The law of inheritance aimed to create a people of moderate fortunes, and was an example of the remarkable spirit of compromise that characterized the whole Code Napoleon. A portion of the family property could be distributed by the father as he pleased, the amount of the portion depending on the number of children, and the rest he was required to divide equally between all his children. Other features of the Civil Code were the safeguards erected around private property, the establishment of religious toleration and the bestowal of French citizenship on children and foreigners by the most liberal terms possible.

2. Code of Civil Procedure

3. Code of Criminal Procedure and Penal Law

4. Penal Code

5. Code of Commercial Law

The Code of Civil Procedure was characterized chiefly by the principle of compulsory conciliation before cases were admitted to court, and by its unfortunate perpetuation of the elaborate red tape of the Old Régime. In the drafting of the Code of Criminal Procedure and Penal Law the chief problem was whether France should continue the inquisitorial procedure of the Old Régime favoring the prosecution, or the jury system of the Revolution favoring the defense. A compromise was made in which the preliminaries favored the prosecution by such features as the secret examination of witnesses; and the main trial was a little more favorable to the defense by the use of the jury and public examination of witnesses. On the whole the accused was still at a disadvantage. The Penal Code retained many barbarous elements of medieval law such as mutilating punishments. It was not finished until several years after the establishment of the Empire when Napoleon had become more despotic and showed his brutality in the severity of his punishments. The Code of Commercial Law placed heavy penalties upon bankrupts and omitted so many things that it has been amended more than any other code.

C. Value

1. Defects

2. Virtues

In spite of its omissions, its brevity and its other defects the Code Napoleon was a great achievement. It unified the law of France in one system that was coherent. Besides, it preserved the historical continuity of French life, for it continued those legal practices of the Old Régime which experience had showed were suited to the French temper. At the same time it benefited by the lessons of the Revolution when it kept such features as civil equality and religious toleration. Partly as a result of its inherent merits, and partly because of Napoleon's conquests, it was widely adopted, and is still used today, either in whole or in part, in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, South Africa and Louisiana.

3. Influence

VI. Education

May 1, 1802

Another Napoleonic achievement that was based upon the beginning made during the French Revolution was the first system of state schools to be established in Europe. The system was planned to begin with primary schools maintained by the smallest local division of the state and supervised by the national government. Next above these were the secondary schools maintained in the same way. The third tier was composed of *lycées*, or high schools, established in every large town. Above them were special schools for training in technical and professional subjects. At the very top was the Imperial University, which took the place of the University of Paris and supervised all the teachers in the whole system by requiring them to become members of it. There was a large body of regulations governing their conduct and even in some cases requiring them to remain unmarried. Above all they were required to teach loyalty to the Empire and the Catholic religion, for Napoleon spared no effort to make all the use possible of propaganda in any field, even in education. The system was never fully established for lack of funds, and throughout Napoleon's reign private schools continued to attract the largest number of students.

VII. Economic policy
A. State control

Napoleon's economic policy, except his financial achievements, was not so successful as some of the other features of his administrative system. One reason was the complete subjection of all economic activity to state intervention and regulation. In some cases this was protection and encouragement. In others it was harmful meddling. To avoid any chance of a popular uprising in Paris he took great pains to be sure the food supply of the city was adequate. Though he had quelled one popular insurrection and felt able to quell another, he had a wholesome fear of what insurrections could do. Labor was put under government control and strikes were forbidden by law. A strong protective tariff was erected against other countries, while those conquered by Napoleon were required to admit French goods without charge. The metric system established by the Revolution was retained, but the new calendar was abolished and the old Gregorian calendar restored. In industry the influence of the Industrial Revolution made itself felt. Inventions were encouraged, expositions were held, and factories were established. On the whole, however, little progress was made, because the war with England that lasted during almost the entire reign of Napoleon closed the gates of France to industrial development.

Jan. 1, 1806

B. Industry

VIII. Public works

An active program of public works was another beneficent feature of Napoleon's administration. The existing roads were repaired and plans were drafted for a far more elaborate system of highways. A beginning was made on the intricate network of canals that were constructed in France during the next two generations, and dikes along the coast were strengthened. The harbors of seaports were made larger and their fortifications made stronger. Much was done to beautify and improve Paris, so that its population increased, and still today the visitor is shown one building and monument after another constructed by Napoleon. Yet all of these projects were carried out with a minimum of direct expense, because much of the labor was done by prisoners of war.

IX. Colonial projects

One of Napoleon's most ambitious plans was to establish a colonial empire, and in this he only continued the policy of the Bourbons. Unfortunately for him he had no better success than they. His attempts to found colonies, as in East India and Algeria, were dismal failures. Worse than that, Negro revolutions in the West Indies gained independence for Haiti and San Domingo, and a large army sent to suppress them was wiped out by disease and battle. Napoleon's hopes were raised high when he acquired Louisiana from Spain, only to have his plans again thwarted by England, that deadly colonial rival of France; for war began and the danger that Louisiana would be captured by the British was so great that Napoleon preferred to sell the vast territory to the United States. James Monroe, knowing that he had the French ruler in a tight place, drove a sharp bargain with him that is an evidence of American shrewdness. April 30, 1803

It was one of the contradictions of Napoleon's life that while he dispensed liberty with one hand he crushed it with the other. This was evident in his censorship of the press. During the French Revolution a host of newspapers of all kinds had sprung up, and after Napoleon became First Consul they showed that they had no more respect for him than anybody else. At first he tried to meet them on their own ground through the press. By this policy he gained so little that he soon resorted to one of the most severe and effective régimes of censorship that the world has ever known. The number of newspapers was drastically reduced to a few that could be watched. Printers were required to have a license which was issued only to a few men after careful investigation of their patriotism. In Paris the *Moniteur* was made the official voice of the government, and in other cities similar papers were established. Every other means of public expression was closely supervised by the police. Books could not be printed until the manuscript had been approved, and booksellers were required to have a license. Even theatres were closely watched. France was not allowed to know anything that the emperor did not want known.

X. Censorship

XI. Religion
A. Policy

One of Napoleon's most difficult problems was that old, thorny question of religion. While he personally possessed no religious convictions, he was wise enough to realize that other people did, and that their convictions, if properly treated, could be used to gain their allegiance to the state. To him religion was a political tool, and no politician ever used it more skillfully than he. One feature of his religious policy was toleration. Since he had no convictions himself, and while in Egypt even pretended to be a Mohammedan, he had no interest in persecuting anybody for his religious beliefs. Another feature was conciliation. He saw that the Revolution had made a mistake in alienating the Catholics and had failed to suppress them. While he suppressed all military revolt by armed force, he accomplished much more by allowing the non-jurors to return and by requiring of the clergy only a declaration of submission instead of an oath. Sunday was revived by allowing the churches to be open on any day, and all the revolutionary holidays were abolished except July 14 and September 22.

B. Concordat, July, 1801

This policy of conciliation finally culminated in a renewal of friendly relations with the pope by a treaty called the Concordat of 1801. In this treaty the pope sanctioned the confiscation of church property, the suppression of the monasteries, and the payment of the clergy by the state. He also gave Napoleon the right to appoint the bishops, and approved the command that public prayers should be made for the Republic. On the other hand Napoleon agreed that the clergy should be required to take only the oaths customary under the Old Régime; that election of the clergy by the people should be abolished; and that the pope should invest the bishops. The Concordat was not published until several months after it was made, because sentiment against the Catholics was still strong. When it did appear, Napoleon added to it certain Organic Articles to which the pope had not agreed and which further subjected the church to the state. For instance, they forbade the absence of the bishops from their bishoprics without the consent of the state. These were the chief provisions of the Concordat of 1801. For the next one hundred years it was the basis of the relations between church and state in France. Its greatest achievement was to win the support of the Catholics who had opposed the government so bitterly until then. Yet the Corsican had no friendly feelings for the pope, and of the clergy he said with the kind of truth that hurts, "I am surrounded by priests who say their kingdom is not of this world, and yet would take all they could." The Protestants and Jews were also given special agreements permitting them full toleration.

April 8, 1802

C. Protestants and Jews

XII. Aristocracy

A. *Émigrés*

April 26, 1802

Napoleon's treatment of the aristocracy of France was fully as wise as his treatment of the clergy. With an admirable ability to bury past grudges he issued an order permitting the *émigrés* to return without fear of punishment, provided they did so within five months after the order was issued and swore fidelity to the constitution. In addition he agreed to restore their property, if it had not already been sold or otherwise alienated. Thus he gained both the support of the *émigrés* who wanted to return, and of the purchasers of the confiscated property who wanted to have their possessions guaranteed.

B. Old aristocracy

Yet in one sense the old aristocracy conquered Napoleon, because they possessed a sanctity of time whose value he appreciated more and more as he grew older. He himself said, " If I had been my own grandson I could have moved even the Pyrenees." As it was, he was largely an upstart whose bubble of good fortune would burst as soon as it was separated from the clay pipe of military victory that blew it. After all there were some things that only time could do. Realizing this, Napoleon tried more and more to attach himself to the old aristocracy and to bind them to him. In the last part of his reign he chose most of his officials from their ranks, and if they were less competent, still they possessed the glitter of social standing.

C. Napoleonic nobility

Nevertheless, Napoleon was no mere slave of the past — he was an architect of the future, and with characteristic ambition he created a new Napoleonic nobility of his own with princes, counts and knights. To each of them the emperor gave a title and a ranking based upon the size of his income. Even the old aristocrats were glad to accept a title from the magical hand of the little Corsican, though they secretly despised the new upstarts with whom they were compelled to share their honors. In addition to an aristocracy by birth the emperor also created an aristocracy of achievement called the Legion of Honor. Membership was an honor bestowed on both soldiers and civilians, but out of some 30,000 only 1200 of the latter class were awarded its silver cross. A similar reward for merit was conferred upon scholars by membership in the Institute, a revival of the academy established during the Revolution. It was divided into several parts corresponding to the field in which the member had won renown for his learning. The center and heart of all these forms of aristocracy was the brilliant and luxurious imperial court over which Napoleon and Josephine presided in such state as even Louis XIV might have envied. Napoleon had a fondness for grandeur and glory, but he also cultivated the impression of greatness as an essen-

D. Legion of Honor, May 19, 1802

E. Institute, 1795

F. Brilliant court

tial ingredient of greatness itself. "When the mask falls, the hero disappears," he said.

XIII. Plans What Napoleon actually accomplished in building up the government, economic life, religion and culture of France was only a small part of what he planned to do, and no doubt would have done, had he not wasted the resources of his country and finally brought disaster upon himself by his wars. For instance, one of his most commendable projects was a pure drugs act to control medicines and physicians so as to prevent treatments likely to cause death. He wanted to rehabilitate the poverty stricken *émigrés* of the provinces, who had lost practically everything during the Revolution, and if given a start would have proved a valuable element in society. He dreamed of establishing personal justice, his idea being that a committee should sort out three or four of the most important petitions presented each day and hand them to him, so that after a personal discussion he might render a prompt decision. These and many other admirable plans were sacrificed on the altar of the god of war.

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

Selected Readings

1. **The Organization of France,** H. Fisher, *Napoleon,* 79–97.
2. **Napoleon's Beneficent Dictatorship,** H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe,* 267–285, 400–413.
3. **The Napoleonic Codes,** *Cambridge Modern History,* IX, 148–179.
4. **Napoleon's Changes in State and Church,** J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon I,* I, 245–265.
5. **Napoleon's Economic Policy,** F. A. Ogg, *The Economic Development of Modern Europe,* 99–103.
6. **Napoleon's Economic Policy,** *Cambridge Modern History,* IX, 116–126.

Standard Historical Works

See the suggested books and readings for chapter XXV.
Cambridge Modern History, IX, New York, 1906.
A. B. Dodd, *Talleyrand,* New York, 1927.
J. McCabe, *Talleyrand,* London, 1906.
H. A. Taine, *The Modern Régime,* 2 vols., New York, 1890.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WARS OF NAPOLEON

Introduction

"I can use up 25,000 men a month." So spoke Napoleon. Hideously cold-blooded and ruthlessly brutal as those words sound, they are none too cold-blooded and none too brutal to stand at the head of one of the most horrible and agonizing episodes in the history of mankind — the Wars of Napoleon. Regardless of who was to blame — and certainly his share of responsibility was no small one — the cost of making peace would have been insignificant in comparison with the price of suffering and woe which he and the rest of Europe paid for making war.

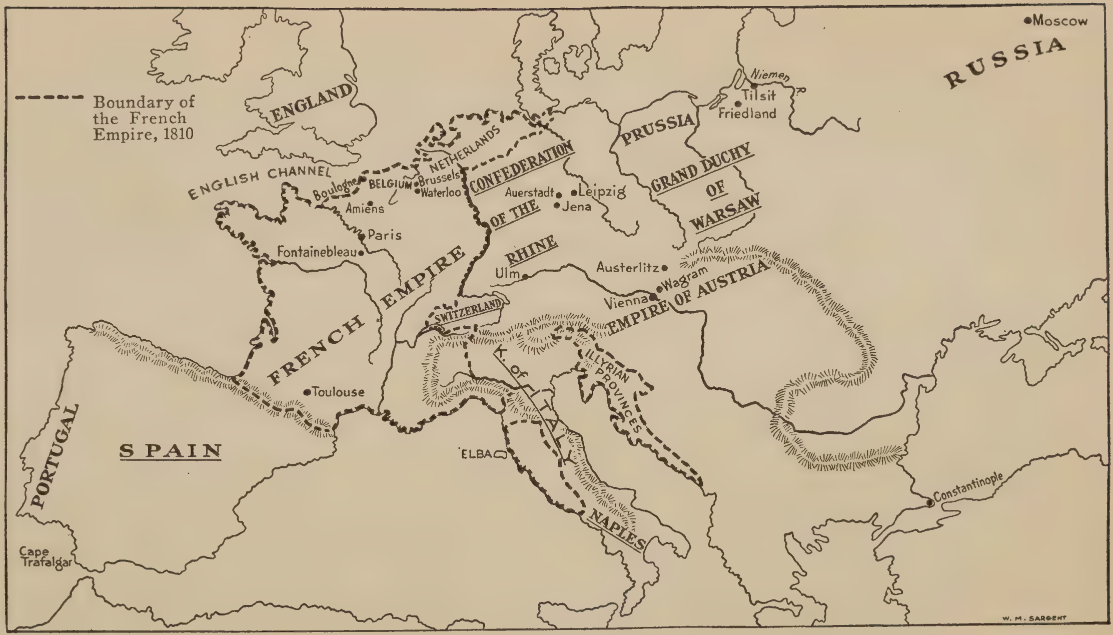
I. Causes for renewal of war

When the Treaty of Amiens brought peace to all Europe for the first time in ten years, there was no sufficient reason why fighting should have begun again. To be sure there were grievances, but these might easily have been settled by diplomacy, and they were used only as a pretense for war. The real cause for the renewal of the struggle in a little over a year after peace had been made, was the attitude of mind in Europe. One element in this attitude was Napoleon's ambition. He interpreted success in terms of military glory and conquest. Such a brand of success he was quite able to achieve, and he welcomed, if he did not seek, the opportunity to achieve it. Another element was the fact that Napoleon's power rested upon military success. He could not afford to suffer defeat, or even refuse to accept a challenge to battle, because then his prestige would fall, and all his power would collapse. Finally, the most serious situation, creating an attitude of mind that demanded war, was the rivalry between France and England — the same old rivalry for colonies, for commerce and for supremacy upon the sea that had been going on for a century. England believed she was in danger until she was sure of her superiority, and France felt the same way. Napoleon merely

A. Ambition

B. Napoleon's power based on war

C. Rivalry with England


Boundary of the French Empire, 1810
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Boulogne
BELGIUM
Brussels
Waterloo
Amiens
Paris
Fontainebleau
NETHERLANDS
FRENCH EMPIRE
Toulouse
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Cape Trafalgar
ELBA
SWITZERLAND
K. of ITALY
NAPLES
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Auerstadt
Leipzig
Jena
Ulm
Austerlitz
Vienna
Wagram
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
Niemen R.
Tilsit
Friedland
RUSSIA
Moscow
Constantinople
W. M. SARGENT

The Wars of Napoleon

Names of countries protected by the French Empire are underlined.

took the place of the Bourbons in this struggle, except that he made it more keen by his greater ability and his evident determination to build up a huge colonial and commercial empire for France. When England realized this, she refused to keep the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, and war began by mutual agreement, or rather disagreement, in May, 1803.

II. Second War with England, 1803–1814

War with England was a difficult problem for Napoleon, because it was necessary to cross the Channel before he could demonstrate his superiority as a general. Crossing the Channel, narrow as it was, proved to be a stupendous task. First he had to recruit and drill a large army concentrated around Boulogne. Then a fleet of transports had to be constructed to carry it across the few miles of water where tide and wind were so treacherous. Upon these difficult tasks two years of strenuous efforts were expended and still they were far from done. Most important of all, sufficient warships had to be on hand to protect the fleet during the time of embarkation and crossing. This proved to be impossible, for England maintained a superior naval force in the Channel in spite of Napoleon's efforts to maneuver his fleet in such a way that during the few hours required for the passage it might be stronger. Worse still for Napoleon, William Pitt the Younger was recalled to the prime ministership of England, and showed his diplomatic skill by organizing Russia and Austria into a Third Coalition against France. After that it was impossible for Napoleon to invade England, because he did not dare to leave two such powerful antagonists behind him on the continent.

A. Boulogne

B. Pitt

III. War of Third Coalition, 1804–1807

A. Austrian campaign, 1805

The War of the Third Coalition was divided into three campaigns, the first of which was the Austrian campaign. When Austria threw the bulk of her forces into Italy, Napoleon decided to march across the Rhine and through Germany upon Vienna. With a perfect command of the technique of moving separated divisions and yet keeping them in touch with each other so that they could concentrate at will, he completely surrounded an Austrian army at Ulm and captured it without a blow. It was a brilliant feat of strategy. Unfortunately for Napoleon its glory was dimmed by the fact that on the next day an English fleet under Nelson attacked an inferior Spanish

1. Ulm, Oct. 20, 1805

2. Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805 and French fleet off Cape Trafalgar and practically annihilated it. The glory of the victory of Trafalgar is still kept constantly before British eyes by Trafalgar Monument in London. However, the importance of the battle has been overestimated. British supremacy upon the sea had already been established and England was safe from invasion. The battle was important because it was the last in which English maritime supremacy was seriously questioned, and after it was over France was unable even to risk an engagement. Napoleon said in exasperation, " I couldn't be everywhere, I had too much to do on the continent." Even if he had been there, the result would probably have been just the same. Meanwhile he marched down the Danube and occupied Vienna without opposition. Still his position was perilous, for there was an army of Russians and Austrians just outside the city, more Austrians were on the way from Italy, and Prussia might intervene. From this trap Napoleon was saved by the Russian Tsar Alexander, who was impatient to show his superiority as a general. Instead he 3. Austerlitz, Dec. 2, 1805 showed his incompetence, for he placed his troops in the worst possible situation, where Napoleon, timing his actions to the minute, completely routed them. After the battle of Austerlitz Dec. 15, 1805 fortune was all on Napoleon's side. Prussia instead of making war made an alliance with him, Austria accepted a 4. Treaty of Pressburg, Dec. 26, 1805 peace that took away large areas of her territory, and Pitt, his most capable opponent, died. In fact, Napoleon felt so strong that he officially declared the Holy Roman Empire at an Aug. 1, 1806 end, and in its place erected a union of German states called July 12, 1806 the Confederation of the Rhine. Austria was excluded, but allowed to take the new name of the Empire of Austria.

B. Prussian campaign, 1806 The Austrian campaign was followed by the Prussian campaign. Until Austria was defeated Napoleon had been careful to keep Prussia friendly. Then, after the tide of fortune turned so strongly in his favor, he dropped the mask and treated the Prussians in such a high-handed manner that finally they forced Oct. 8, 1806 their king Frederick William III to declare war. Prussia felt quite competent to fight Napoleon, because Frederick the Great had established a tradition that the Prussian army was superior to any other in Europe. However, Napoleon soon showed that this tradition was only an empty memory, for he moved his divisions across Germany with his usual clocklike precision, and caught the Prussian general quite unprepared. On the same day that Napoleon attacked one wing of the Prussian army at Jena, Davout, one of his generals, attacked the main force at Auerstadt, and before night had fallen the soldiers of Frederick William III were either dead, wounded, captured or in flight. Prussia was completely subdued and made to await her sentence while Napoleon turned upon the Russians for the third campaign of the war. Oct. 14, 1806

C. Russian campaign, 1806–1807

The Russian campaign did not progress so rapidly as the others, partly because winter weather interfered, and partly because the Russians were not so easily caught in a trap as the others. In fact, at the first important battle an enormous number of men were killed and nothing was gained, because Napoleon's strategy was not good enough to give his troops any important advantage. It was a good example of the fact that it was not the bravery with which men fought that won victories, but the cleverness of the general in arranging his troops. The same was evident at the next great battle of Friedland, where the Russians fought just as fiercely, but this time Napoleon had them at a great strategical disadvantage, and he won such an overwhelming victory that Tsar Alexander decided to make peace. The treaty was made at Tilsit, where the two emperors met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River. The Treaty of Tilsit was not dictated like Napoleon's other treaties, but bought, because he saw that Alexander was disgusted with his allies, and would sell out at a low price. Consequently, instead of demanding territory from the defeated tsar, he offered to let him have a free hand to do as he willed with all of Turkey except Constantinople. Alexander in return agreed to let Napoleon impose heavy terms on Prussia as well as deal with other European states as he wished. In addition he also promised to support a new undertaking by the French emperor known to history as the Continental Blockade. Feb. 8, 1807 June 14, 1807 July 7–9, 1807

IV. Continental Blockade

A. Plan

The Continental Blockade was a plan to conquer England by destroying her commerce. Since Napoleon had been unable to conquer the island of "shopkeepers," as he contemptuously called the English, by his army or his navy, the only thing left to do was to attempt an economic conquest. England's chief source of wealth was her commerce, and the two most important divisions of her commerce were the importation of a sufficient food supply to supplement the production of the island, and the exportation of manufactured goods. The reason for this was that the Industrial Revolution had resulted in a production of manufactured articles that far exceeded England's consumption.

B. Stages

Nov. 2, 1806

May 16, 1806

Nov. 11, 1807

Dec. 17, 1807

There were two stages in the development of the Continental Blockade. The first began a few months after Austerlitz, when Napoleon declared England blockaded; that is, all her ports closed to commerce. This was only an imitation of what England had already done to French ports. The difference was that England could put warships outside the French harbors and so enforce her decrees, while Napoleon could not do the same to England, and consequently his blockade was called a paper blockade. However, such a statement was incorrect, because the peculiar commercial needs of England made it possible for Napoleon to enforce his blockade without a navy. He could enforce it by closing all the ports of Europe to English commerce, and, since England needed to enter those ports to export her goods, this was almost as serious a blow to her commerce as if he had actually closed the English ports. All he needed to do was to gain control over all European ports, and by the time of the Treaty of Tilsit he had nearly accomplished that. The second stage began when England retaliated by ordering all countries to trade with her. She did this by demanding that all ships bound for ports under Napoleon's control should stop at England first. Napoleon replied by punishing the ships that obeyed the English orders.

C. Enforcement

His chief problem was enforcement, because, even if he obliged all the ports of Europe to obey his orders and after that compelled neutrals to follow his wishes, there was still the inevitable question of smuggling. The greater the restrictions on trade, the greater the profit from smuggling. In Napoleon's case it was especially difficult for him to prevent smuggling, because the continental countries needed a market for their agri-

1806 ff.

1810 ff.

D. Results

cultural products in England, and likewise they needed English manufactured goods. The Continental Blockade ran counter to their economic needs. At first Napoleon tried to solve the problem by a strict prohibition of illicit trade combined with a toleration of smuggling. Then, after a few years he decided that he would do better to make a profit from the illicit trade; so he strictly forbade smuggling, and licensed partial exemptions from the prohibition of trade. The results of the Continental Blockade were serious for Napoleon. In the first place it failed to ruin England's commerce, partly because the orders were not strictly enforced, and partly because Napoleon made little attempt to prevent the exportation of foods to England. The blockade not only failed to subdue England, but it also aroused Europe against Napoleon. The European nations needed trade with England, and they had good reason to feel that the French emperor used the Blockade to let French industry and commerce prosper at the expense of their own. Portugal, which had long been a commercial ally of England, absolutely refused to close her ports to the British, and the result was the Peninsular War.

V. Peninsular War, 1807–1814

A. Invasion of Portugal, 1807

B. Conquest of Spain

July, 1808

The Peninsular War was so called, because it began with an invasion of Portugal and developed into a general war to conquer the whole of the Spanish peninsula as well. Spain, which had always obeyed Napoleon's commands with the greatest subservience, was forced to help in the attack on Portugal. Then France, under the pretense of aiding Spain, marched a huge army across the Spanish border. All the important fortresses were occupied and the conquest of Spain began. First the king, Charles IV, was compelled to abdicate, and then his son, Ferdinand VII, was forced to follow suit by the threat that he might be judicially murdered if he did not. After that Napoleon's older brother Joseph was made King Joseph of Spain, and the Spanish people were told that henceforth they were to enjoy liberty, equality, fraternity and all the other "inestimable" blessings of the French Revolution.

C. Resistance

The Spanish people, however, had no enthusiasm for democracy, because they had not been reared on the maxims of Rousseau, and liberty had little attraction when it was handed out on the point of a bayonet. A determined resistance began such as Napoleon had never encountered before, because it was the revolt of a whole people fighting for their beliefs and their country. This was the spirit of nationalism, and conquering it was no such simple matter as defeating armies. In addition the Peninsular War offered unusually difficult military obstacles. An English army under Wellesley was landed in Portugal, and Wellesley (later created the Duke of Wellington) proved to be as great a master of defensive warfare as the world had ever seen. He was the first to develop the use of trenches to a large degree. 1809 At first he drove the French out of Portugal, and then after they drove him back in again he was able to maintain himself in his trenches until another opportunity came. 1811 Disease was by far the worst enemy that Napoleon met in Spain, and geography was also against him, for the mountain ranges ran across his path. For such a campaign a new strategy was needed, which Napoleon, the master of the strategy of divisions, concentration, and pitched battles, proved unable to produce. The Peninsular War dragged on year after year, an enormous drain on his resources, and a constant threat in case a weak spot appeared in his position in France. " This unfortunate war ruined me," he said later.

VI. Fourth Austrian War, 1809

A. Causes

In 1809 it looked as if the weak spot had come, when for the fourth time war broke out with Austria. After the catastrophe of Austerlitz the Austrian army had been greatly improved, and among the people a spirit of nationality had been awakened which smarted under the disgraceful treatment the country had received from Napoleon. When Spain offered such unexpected and successful resistance to Napoleon, it looked as if at last his feet had been caught in the mire, and Austria seized the opportunity to declare war. (April 9, 1809)

B. Campaign

Though Napoleon still showed himself the same resourceful, quick master of war that he had always been, it was evident that his margin of superiority was not as great as before. While he won the campaign and finally defeated the Austrians at the terribly bloody battle of Wagram, (July 5–6, 1809) Archduke Charles showed by his skill that he had learned many useful lessons from the Corsican, and Napoleon acknowledged it by presenting him with the silver cross of the Legion of Honor after the battle. It was not a decisive victory, but it compelled Austria to make an armistice, and when no other countries came to her aid she finally made a peace by which she surrendered to Napoleon still more of her territory.

Oct. 14, 1809

VII. Napoleon at his height, 1810

A. Napoleonic Europe

1. French Empire

2. Dependent countries

3. Independent countries

The year 1810 marked a crisis in the career of Napoleon, for by that time he had conquered large sections of Europe. These he arranged to suit his own ideas, and kept in that arrangement until his fall. Geographically Napoleonic Europe was divided into three parts. The first was the French Empire, which included not only the France of 1789, but also the Netherlands, the Illyrian provinces, part of northern Germany, and a large part of northwestern Italy. A second part was composed of the countries under Napoleon's protection: Spain, Naples, the Kingdom of Italy, Switzerland, the Confederation of the Rhine, and a large part of Poland called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The third part included the independent countries, of which the most important were England, Russia, Prussia and Austria. More than any other conqueror before him Napoleon remodeled the boundaries of Europe, but he did it without regard for nationalistic feelings or economic interests, and his work was sure to perish.

B. Divorce and second marriage, 1810

One of the weakest points in the Napoleonic domination of Europe was the fact that Napoleon's wife Josephine had not borne him any children. Napoleon realized that one man's lifetime was not enough to render permanent such great changes as he had made. Besides, as long as he had no son whose rights were definitely acknowledged, all Europe would be convinced that his arrangements were only temporary, and this conviction would make them the more discontented with his rule. Consequently, in 1810 he decided that, much as he loved Josephine and much as she loved him, he must divorce her and marry again in the hope of having a son. Such an action violated both the law of the church and also his own Civil Code; nevertheless, the divorce was made and Napoleon married Marie Louise, the daughter of Emperor Francis of Austria. This marriage made him a member of the proudest royal house of Europe, and Marie Louise gave birth to a son; but afterwards he wished he had married somebody else, be-

March, April 1, 1810

cause Austria was never a firm ally as he hoped she would be.

VIII. Russian War, 1812
A. Causes

The necessity of an Austrian alliance became evident when war broke out between Napoleon and Russia in 1812. One cause of the war was a long list of grievances on both sides. The most important cause was the fact that Alexander found it disastrous to support the Continental Blockade, and refused to do so any longer. Thus one war caused another, and it was impossible for Napoleon to live in peace, because he began his career by war. A third cause was the effort by both Napoleon and Alexander to frighten each other into submission. Neither was frightened, both carried the bluff too far, and war began.

B. Invasion of Russia

June 24, 1812

The Russian campaign of 1812 was another illustration of the fact that Napoleon was a master of one type of military strategy, but unable to develop a different type when a different situation made it necessary. Gathering together an enormous army of 650,000 men, the largest that Europe had ever seen, he crossed the border of Russia intent upon a two years campaign. At first everything went well. The Russians offered him little resistance, and were easily beaten when they did. However, Napoleon's success was the cause of his failure. Far sooner than he expected he reached the city where he had intended to spend the winter. The resistance was so weak that his impatience got the better of him, and he decided to dash on to Moscow and finish the war in one year. This decision was a fatal mistake. He reached Moscow in good time; but two thirds of his army had fallen by the wayside, the army of his foes was nearly intact, the people of the country had not risen in response to his offers of "liberty," and fires started by the Russians in Moscow almost destroyed the city. It was impossible to stay there. Napoleon was conquered by a foe worse than any army — the Russian winter. The only thing left to do was to retreat. The retreat from Moscow was one long nightmare of misery for Napoleon's men, and of failure for himself. At last he reached the border of Russia with only a hundred thousand men. Under such circumstances any other general would have made peace. For Napoleon that was im-

Sept. 14, 1812

C. Retreat from Moscow

possible. He could not make peace in the face of defeat, because victory was the one pillar upon which rested all of his power. Once he yielded, nobody would consider him great any more, and all would turn against him.

IX. War of Liberation, 1813–1814
A. German campaign, 1813

Soon after Napoleon crossed the border of Russia, Prussia declared war upon him, and thus the Russian War was transformed into a wider conflict known as the War of Liberation, because it finally ended in the liberation of Europe from Napoleon's rule. There were two separate campaigns in the war, the first of which was the German campaign, because the fighting took place in Germany. In this period Napoleon faced difficulties such as he had never encountered before. The fact that he had been defeated by Russia showed that such a thing could be done, and inspired the enemy with a confidence which was new. More than that, the French had awakened to the fact that there was a distinction between their interests and the personal welfare of Napoleon. The time had passed when the success of Napoleon meant the same thing as the success of France. They could get along without him now, and saw no reason for fighting merely to increase his glory. In addition, a new Prussia had arisen, for after the punishment at Jena-Auerstadt Frederick William III had called to his aid two great statesmen — Stein and Hardenberg. By their work the Prussian army was vastly improved, and economic and social conditions were greatly bettered in much the same way as they had been in France by the Revolution. The entire people were aroused, not only in Prussia, but also throughout Germany, and now Napoleon found himself fighting a force with almost unlimited reserves. At the same time it was more than he could do to conscript an army of fewer numbers and more than half non-French.

These difficulties put him at a tremendous disadvantage. The victories which he gained were fruitless ones, for his opponents were familiar with his tactics and avoided his attempts to entrap them. Then he made an armistice hoping to recuperate his forces, but the enemy increased their strength more rapidly than he. After the armistice was ended, Austria joined them, because Napoleon would not pay a big enough price for her support. It was evident to Napoleon that soon he would be surrounded by superior forces, so he concentrated his army at Leipzig to attack a portion of the enemy in the hope of defeating them before the rest came up. The plan failed because his movements were too slow. A terrific battle took place in which he was completely defeated. The allies brought wave after wave of reënforcements on the field as the battle continued, and finally Napoleon was forced to retreat to France so rapidly that he left behind thousands of men in German fortresses.

Oct. 16–19, 1813

B. French campaign

Then the French campaign began, in which Napoleon fought off far larger forces by rapidly marching from one point to another and showing a superlative mastery of tactics. The allies offered him terms of peace again and again, but he always refused them in the hope that fortune might smile upon him once more. His hopes were vain. Each time the terms were less favorable. Finally, in March, 1814, the allies marched upon Paris and took the city. After that it was useless to fight, and yet Wellesley, who had conquered Spain and crossed the Pyrenees, attacked the city of Toulouse with a loss to both sides of thousands of men. By the special Treaty of Fontainebleau Napoleon was given the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean as a sovereign state, a tiny army, and an income to indemnify him for his estates in France.

March 31, 1814

April 12, 1814

X. Restoration of Bourbons

Then the allies restored Louis XVIII, the brother of Louis XVI, to the throne of France, while they met in the Congress of Vienna to readjust conditions in Europe. Louis XVIII was enthusiastically received in Paris, because the hardships of the Old Régime were forgotten, and after all he belonged to France. Besides, he was tactful, and made no attempt to change fundamentally the new conditions. He and his ministers were able to gain for the country very favorable terms of peace by the Treaty of Paris, and everything would have been well had it not been for little offensive acts that turned the people against him. For instance, the tricolor that had waved over so many victorious battlefields was discarded for the white flag of the Bourbons.

May 30, 1814

Napoleon, in his island prison of Elba, heard of the discon-

XI. The Hundred Days March 20–June 29, 1815

A. Return from Elba, March 1, 1815

tent that was spreading in France; he was quite sure that it was only a question of time until the allies would take him from Elba and put him in a worse place; and he hoped that their jealousies would keep them from uniting against him, if he tried to come back. One day in 1815 he landed on the shores of France. The soldiers sent to capture him ran and knelt at his feet instead. In a few weeks he was in Paris, not having fired a shot, and Louis XVIII was once more an exile. So far it was easy. Then the emperor's troubles started. He promised the people that the Empire would not be as despotic as before, but his promises did not ring true, and France was suspicious.

B. Waterloo campaign

June 18, 1815

The allies united against him, and he had to put an army in the field at once, hoping to defeat them separately before they were prepared. First, he marched into Belgium where Prussia and England each had an army. He defeated the Prussians in a bloody battle. Then, when he turned upon the English commanded by Wellesley, he found them in a strong position at Waterloo just south of Brussels. He attacked, and his men fought like heroes; but the attack was marred by a series of errors, and when night fell his army was a shattered mob of fugitives. Waterloo was one of the most famous battles of history. However, it was not crucially decisive, because it was not one battle that defeated Napoleon — it was the situation. The battle of Waterloo was only one factor. There were many other factors that made it impossible for Napoleon ever again to be the Emperor of the French. He fled to Paris. The French, led by his old enemy Fouché, forced him to abdicate after a rule of approximately a "Hundred Days."

C. Abdication and exile

He tried to escape to America, found himself trapped on the coast, and surrendered to the English. They took him to the barren island of St. Helena, where he spent the rest of his life in a pitiful captivity more bitter than death. In his meanly furnished room were four pictures — all of the little son from whom he vainly begged his captors to let him have a letter. The house was infested with rats which sometimes ate up all the food. Bitter memories often made him morose. One day he remarked to his companions, "I am choked with glory, I

May 5, 1821

have made my bed in it." Finally death delivered him from an existence that had become an aching memory of faded glories and terrible blunders. Even before he died men began to create in their imaginations a legendary Napoleon of magical proportions that was far greater than anything which even the remarkable, real Napoleon had known. The best criticism of his life is one which he himself made, when in speaking of England he said, " How much evil we did do; how much good we might have done — together."

Outline of the French and Napoleonic Wars

I. First Coalition, 1792–1802
  1. Declaration of war on Austria, April 20, 1792
  2. Prussia joins Austria, 1792
  3. Verdun taken by allies, 1792
  4. Valmy — allies defeated, 1792
  5. England, Spain and Holland enter, 1793
  6. Disasters of 1793
  7. Victories of Convention, 1793–1794
  8. Peace of Basel, Prussia withdraws, 1795
  9. First Italian Campaign, 1796–1797
  10. Treaty of Campo-Formio with Austria, Oct. 17, 1797
II. Egyptian Expedition, 1798–1801
  1. Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798
  2. Return of Napoleon, 1799
  3. Surrender to England, 1801
III. Second Coalition, 1798–1801
  1. Loss of Italy
  2. Marengo, 1800
  3. Hohenlinden, 1800
  4. Treaty of Lunéville, 1801 (Treaty of Amiens with England, 1802)
IV. Second English War, 1803–1814
  1. Boulogne expedition fails
V. Third Coalition, 1804–1807
  1. Austrian campaign, 1805
    (1) Ulm

        - (2) Trafalgar
        - (3) Austerlitz
    - 2. Prussian campaign, 1806
        - (1) Continental Blockade
        - (2) Jena-Auerstadt
    - 3. Russian campaign, 1806–1807
        - (1) Friedland, 1807
        - (2) Treaty of Tilsit, 1807
- VI. Peninsular War, 1807–1814
    - 1. Invasion of Portugal, 1807
    - 2. Conquest of Spain, 1808
    - 3. Revolt of Spain, 1808–1814
- VII. Fourth Austrian War, 1809
    - 1. Wagram
- VIII. Russian War, 1812
    - 1. Invasion of Russia
    - 2. Retreat from Moscow
- IX. War of Liberation, 1813–1814
    - 1. German campaign, 1813
        - (1) Fruitless victories
        - (2) Armistice
        - (3) Leipzig, Oct. 16–19, 1813
    - 2. French campaign, 1813–1814
        - (1) Skillful resistance
        - (2) Fall of Paris, 1814
        - (3) Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1814
        - (4) Treaty of Paris, 1814
- X. The Hundred Days
    - 1. Return from Elba
    - 2. Waterloo, June 18, 1815
    - 3 Abdication

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

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2. **The Reorganization of Prussia**, H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 367–382.

3. **The Peninsular War**, C. D. Hazen, *The French Revolution and Napoleon*, 322–333.

4. **The Texts of the Berlin and Milan Decrees**, J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 345–349; also in J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 503–507.

5. **The Continental System**, L. R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*, 373–378, 385–388.

6. **Napoleonic Europe**, H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 383–399.

7. **The Retreat from Moscow**, R. M. Johnston, *The Corsican*, 356–368.

8. **The War of Liberation**, S. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, 410–430.

9. **The Return of the Bourbons**, L. R. Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution*, 412–421.

10. **The Waterloo Campaign**, H. Fisher, *Napoleon*, 223–238.

11. **Readings on the Fall of Napoleon**, J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 356–371; also in J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 514–529.

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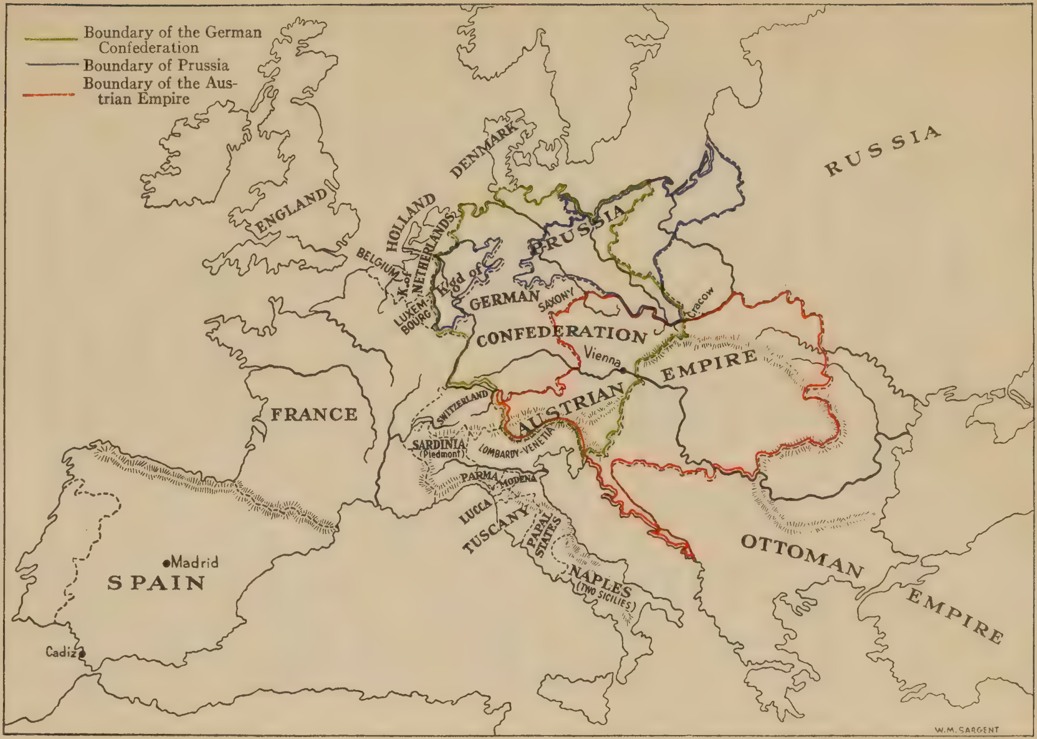
Boundary of the German Confederation
Boundary of Prussia
Boundary of the Austrian Empire
RUSSIA
ENGLAND
DENMARK
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
K. of NETHERLANDS
LUXEMBOURG
Kgd of
PRUSSIA
GERMAN
SAXONY
Cracow
CONFEDERATION
Vienna
EMPIRE
AUSTRIAN
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
SARDINIA (Piedmont)
LOMBARDY-VENETIA
PARMA
MODENA
LUCCA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES (TWO SICILIES)
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
Madrid
SPAIN
Cadiz
W.M. SARGENT

Europe after the Congress of Vienna

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE METTERNICH SYSTEM

I. Introduction: the conflict of democracy and reaction

A. Democratic ideals

The fall of Napoleon marked a crisis in the history of Europe. During the preceding twenty-five years democratic ideals of government had established themselves in France and spread throughout Europe. Briefly stated, these democratic ideals were of four kinds. First, there was the ideal of a new political science as described by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. This new political science advocated such principles as the social contract and government for the benefit of the governed. A second democratic ideal was parliamentary government, such as that developed in England and that established in France during the French Revolution. In general the chief features of parliamentary government were the following: the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial power; a representative assembly or parliament elected by the people and possessing the right to initiate legislation; a ministry responsible to the parliament; civil and legal equality; and, finally, a constitution stating the fundamental laws to which the officials of the government as well as the people were subject. A third democratic ideal was an efficient administrative system for the benefit of the citizens, with such features as a careful management of finances and the support of national education. A fourth ideal of democracy was national unity, that is, to have the geographical boundaries of each state and the extent of its jurisdiction include all the members of the nation-state. For example, the members of the same nationality who were subject to other governments should be recovered.

B. Reaction

These democratic ideals suffered a serious defeat in the fall of Napoleon, and the classes who opposed them seized the opportunity to start a movement of reaction toward the form of government that had existed under the Old Régime. They had many good reasons for condemning democracy, and they could point to several black spots upon its record, such as the Reign of Terror, but they made the mistake of trying to suppress it completely instead of compromising with it. History has shown that movements of change in the institutions of mankind cannot be extinguished — they can only be modified.

II. Congress of Vienna

A. Duration

B. Organization

June 9, 1815

The reactionists found an opportunity to attack democracy at the Congress of Vienna. This was the Congress which met after the fall of Napoleon to settle all the questions of readjustment not settled by the Treaty of Paris. It lasted from September 14, 1814, to November 20, 1815. The plan of organization was to have a general meeting of all the deputies. However, its formal opening was postponed and never did take place. Instead, informal meetings were held by the plenipotentiaries from the different states at which they drew up treaties, and these treaties were finally all gathered together and incorporated in what was called the Final Act of Vienna. Meanwhile the Austrian government spent vast sums in providing elaborate entertainment in the form of balls and receptions, so that the attention of the public was carefully distracted from the actual work of the Congress going on behind the scenes.

C. Leaders

1. Metternich

2. Alexander I

3. Frederick William III

There were five leaders who dominated the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. The most important of these was Prince Metternich, the prime minister of Austria. He was the champion of reaction. Some of the violent scenes of the Revolution which he had witnessed in his youth had made him a bitter foe of democratic government. As a statesman and diplomat he was unsurpassed by any man at the Congress. Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, was a man who talked a great deal as if he favored liberal ideas, but in Russia he ruled with absolute power and in his demands he was as greedy as any of the rulers of Europe. Frederick William III, King of Prussia, had few talents as a statesman, but he was assisted by gifted men such as Hardenberg. Castlereagh, who represented England, was guided by two main desires. He hoped to gain for his country all the aims for which she had fought the war, and he wanted to speed the making of peace so that commerce might recover as quickly as possible. Talleyrand, the man who had once been minister of foreign affairs for Napoleon, now represented France under the Bourbons in the same capacity. It was the reward which he had received for betraying the emperor during the War of Liberation. In the diplomatic intrigues at Vienna his natural gift for duplicity was a great advantage, and he did much to restore the prestige of his country. At first the four great powers of Austria, Russia, Prussia and England declared that they would make the decisions and ask the opinion of France afterwards. To counteract this attitude Talleyrand organized the small countries under the leadership of France. When the big four quarreled, this French bloc sided with the weaker party, with the result that the big four were forced to admit France to a share in their decisions.

4. Castlereagh

5. Talleyrand

In rearranging the map of Europe the Congress of Vienna was guided by four diplomatic principles. The first of these principles was Restoration. This meant to restore conditions as nearly as possible to the situation existing before the French Revolution began in 1789. In some countries, as Germany and Italy, this was undesirable or impossible, and so a later date was set. A second policy was Legitimacy. This principle was formulated by Talleyrand, and meant that wherever possible that form of government should be established whose claim was rendered legitimate by possession over a long period of years before the French conquest. However, cases arose in which the large nations wanted to increase their territory beyond that which they had held in 1789, and then they adopted a third principle called Compensation and Guarantees. This meant that, in some instances where it was found necessary to take away territory from any country in order to make a better arrangement of territories than that existing in 1789, the country thus injured should be compensated with territory elsewhere. In other cases where the safety of a country was threatened, usually by France, it should be given territory of strategic value to help it guarantee its safety. The fourth principle followed by the Congress of Vienna was Balance of Power. A deliberate attempt was made to establish an equilibrium of power in Europe, so that no one state should

D. Diplomatic principles

1. Restoration

2. Legitimacy

3. Compensation and Guarantees

4. Balance of Power

be strong enough to threaten the safety of the rest as Napoleonic France had done. After this equilibrium was once established, no nation was to be allowed to increase its territory, for that would upset the Balance of Power. The coöperation of the nations in maintaining this balance became known as the Concert of the Powers. Fundamentally it was an effort to establish a permanent peace, because Europe was so torn and devastated by war that it wanted to prevent another outbreak.

E. Geographical arrangements

1. Kingdom of the Netherlands

Following these diplomatic principles the Congress of Vienna made a new arrangement of geographical boundaries. The Kingdom of the Netherlands was established by uniting Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg under the rule of the House of Orange. This was a deliberate violation of the desire for nationality, because all three countries had different characteristics that made them object to being united. One purpose of the arrangement was to create a buffer state against France under the protection of England.

2. Germany

a. German Confederation

In Germany there were two predominant questions to be settled by the Congress. The first was the form of government which should be given to the country as a whole. Nobody wanted to restore the old Holy Roman Empire with its weak government. Prussia wanted to have a strongly centralized confederation including only Germans, because this meant that she would be the center of a united Germany. But this also meant that Austria with her population of mostly non-Germans would be excluded, and so Austria opposed the plan and advocated a loose confederation which could include her. Since she would be the strongest state in such a confederation, she could dominate it. The minor German states also favored a loose confederation, because it gave them better prospects of maintaining their autonomy. By Metternich's skillful diplomacy Prussia was induced to agree to the plan.

May 14, 1815

Thus the German Confederation was established with a loose central government, and a boundary much the same as that of the Holy Roman Empire. However, all the petty states abolished by Napoleon were not restored, and in the new Confederation there were only thirty-nine members. Parts of Austria and

Prussia which had not been in the Holy Roman Empire were excluded, mainly because they were inhabited by non-Germans.

b. Saxony

The second great problem in the reorganization of Germany was Saxony — a problem so important that war almost broke out between the powers before they reached a settlement. Saxony had been an ally of Napoleon and so was considered fair prey for anybody. Prussia had made a secret agreement with Russia to permit Russia to take her share of Poland, if she would support Prussia's demand for all of Saxony. England and Austria absolutely refused to consent, and France supported them. War was only prevented by a compromise giving Prussia a part of Saxony and compensation for the rest in the form of some provinces on the Rhine. This had an important influence upon the history of Europe, for it made Prussia the guardian of the Rhine and helped to change the Austro-Prussian rivalry into a Franco-Prussian rivalry.

3. Poland

Poland was repartitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria, but a small part around the city of Cracow was permitted to retain its sovereignty as the independent state of Cracow.

4. Switzerland

Switzerland was given a loose confederation, on the basis of which it developed during the nineteenth century one of the most democratic governments in Europe.

5. Italy

The settlement in Italy was guided by the determination of Austria to dominate the peninsula. Metternich wanted to make of Italy a geographical expression, and he temporarily accomplished his purpose by annexing Lombardy-Venetia, part of which was considered a compensation for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands. In addition, the various Bonaparte rulers established by Napoleon were expelled, and in their places were put rulers who would be faithful to the wishes of Vienna. Italy was broken up into a number of small states, of which the three most important were the kingdom in the north called either Sardinia or Piedmont, the Papal States in the center, and Naples (also called the Two Sicilies) in the south. All of this was in direct contradiction to the strong nationalistic spirit stimulated by Napoleon to make of Italy one nation with a democratic government.

6. England

England was awarded all the gains which she had hoped to make by fighting the war. The commercial supremacy for which she had fought over a century with France and Spain was now assured beyond a doubt. In the rivalry for colonies she was equally successful, for she was given practically all the colonies of any importance that had belonged to France or her allies. She established a naval supremacy over all the rest of the world. Still the colonial rivalry with France was not ended. France after a time began a new movement of expansion in North Africa, and there England became her greatest rival.

7. Unsettled problems

The Congress of Vienna left unsettled a number of geographical problems. The most important of these was the Eastern Question, which meant chiefly the division of the Ottoman Empire. It was evident that many parts of the Empire controlled by the Turks were on the verge of breaking away, especially in the Balkan peninsula, and that new boundary lines would have to be drawn in the East, but the Congress of Vienna ignored the matter. This only laid up trouble for the future, for the changes were inevitable, and when they came they upset the Balance of Power established so carefully by the diplomats of Vienna.

III. Quadruple Alliance
A. Holy Alliance
Sept. 26, 1815

While the Congress of Vienna was drawing to a close, Tsar Alexander conceived the idea of a religious pact of nations to suppress revolution. For this purpose he organized what he called the Holy Alliance by gaining the signatures of Austria and Prussia to a high-sounding religious manifesto. In this document they pledged themselves to follow a policy guided "by the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour." Because the manifesto was filled with similar vague statements Metternich called it "a sonorous nothing," but he was wrong. The value of a treaty depends not upon the words in which it is expressed, but upon the amount of public opinion behind it. The Holy Alliance had behind it the powerful movement of reaction, and it gave to this movement religious sanction. Metternich himself realized this, and turned the Holy Alliance into a practical machine for suppressing democracy by organizing the Quadruple Alliance of all four states (Russia, Prussia, Austria and England) to uphold the

B. Organization of Quadruple Alliance, Nov. 20, 1815 action of the Congress of Vienna. By this treaty the work of the Congress was practically completed. Still the name of "Holy Alliance" fascinated the imagination of Europe, and was often mistakenly used to mean the Quadruple Alliance. After France had shown by a stable government of three years that she had renounced revolutionary designs, she was admitted to the alliance.

Nov. 15, 1818

IV. Metternich System

By the work of the Congress of Vienna and the organization of the Quadruple Alliance the movement of reaction gained the upper hand. Under the leadership of Metternich it developed a combination of methods for suppressing democracy which was called from its chief organizer the Metternich System.

A. Restrictions on public expression

One feature of the Metternich System was the close restriction of all forms of public expression so as to prevent any kind of democratic propaganda. Metternich was able to apply this method strictly in Austria, and succeeded in obtaining its partial adoption in other countries. A thorough censorship was established, and universities were watched with particular care, because professors and students were especially liable to adopt democratic ideas. No paper or book was allowed to be published which contained any suspicious statements, and no meetings could be held or societies formed until it was certain that they had no revolutionary purpose. No person suspected of democratic sympathies was allowed to enter the country. Those guilty of such ideas might be imprisoned or otherwise intimidated. In these and many other ways public expression was restricted so as to prevent the circulation of revolutionary propaganda.

B. Congresses

Another feature of the Metternich System was the holding of congresses of the Quadruple Alliance to deal with any crisis that threatened to disturb the arrangements established by the Congress of Vienna. Thus the powers acted as a unit and were prepared to deal vigorously with any movement that promised to become another French Revolution.

C. Intervention

A third feature was the policy of intervention. The concert of Europe made it their duty to protect not only the territorial integrity of any state as established by the Congress of Vienna, but also its internal stability. In case any uprising threatened this stability, they considered that they had a right to intervene in the country to maintain the legitimate government. To allow one country to break away from the system was a menace to all, because allowing France to break away in 1789 had caused the French Revolution and Napoleonic conquests. Because the Metternich System dominated the history of Europe for a generation after the Congress of Vienna, that period is often referred to as the Age of Metternich.

V. Restoration in Spain

A. Constitutional monarchy

One of the countries to which the Metternich System was most thoroughly applied was Spain. During the Napoleonic Wars, after the French had been driven back across the Pyrenees, the Spaniards seized the opportunity to establish a constitutional monarchy. A constitutional convention was assembled called the Cortes, in which the party favoring democracy was called the *Liberales*. Because of their progressive attitude, the name was adopted by progressives all over Europe. The Cortes abolished the Old Régime, and drew up a famous constitution called the Constitution of 1812. It was modeled on the first French constitution of 1791, but it was more liberal than any constitution composed up until that time. All over Europe it came to be regarded by democrats as a model of what a constitution should be. It gave the chief control of the state to a parliament called the Cortes, and vested the executive power in the hands of Ferdinand VII, then a prisoner in France.

1. Cortes, 1811

2. Constitution of 1812

B. Restoration of Ferdinand VII, 1814

1. Popularity

After the fall of Napoleon, Ferdinand was permitted to return to his country, where he was received with extravagant enthusiasm. His long imprisonment had made him a martyr in the eyes of the people, and his popularity was increased when he accepted the Constitution of 1812. He was called Ferdinand the Idolized, because he became the idol of those whose patriotic fervor had been aroused to a high pitch by the long and successful struggle against Napoleon. Unfortunately his personality was quite unsuited to the task before him. Naturally childish, he preferred play to work, and was subject to temperamental gusts of passion that made him vacillate violently from one extreme to another. Thoroughly incompetent, he knew nothing either of the science of government or the prob-

2. Personality

lems of kingship. Worst of all, he was entirely unscrupulous, and displayed his duplicity at the very start by abolishing the Constitution of 1812 as soon as he crossed the border. This deed was the beginning of a period of violent reaction. The Liberals were hunted down and were condemned with only the pretense of a trial to imprisonment, exile and death. The land taken away from the monasteries was returned to them without giving any indemnity to the purchasers, and the Inquisition was restored. Then the Metternich System of restriction on public expression was applied to the country. Such a reaction was only to be expected, but it was too long and too furious. Consequently the pendulum of public opinion swung to the other extreme and the natural result was a revolution.

3. Reaction

There were many fundamental causes for the revolution in Spain; such as the intense economic distress from which the country was suffering after a long period of war, and the disgracefully inefficient government of Ferdinand VII. To these was added the immediate cause: discontent in the army. During the Napoleonic Wars the Spanish colonies in America had broken away and established independent democratic governments. In order to organize an expedition to recover them, Spain collected an army at the port of Cadiz. The expedition was not popular in Spain, and the soldiers disliked the idea of going far away across the ocean to lose their lives. Worse still, the government made the mistake of giving them poor rations and little pay. In 1820 a revolt broke out among them, spread all over the northern part of the nation, and frightened the king so much that he restored the Constitution of 1812. A provisional government was organized in Madrid, constitutional government was reëstablished, and the revolution appeared to be successful. However, its success was only temporary. One cause of failure was the fact that it represented only a minority of the people, for only a minority knew anything about democratic ideals or were interested in them. Besides, strife soon broke out between the Liberals, and while they were fighting with each other the country fell into the hands of military despots. All of this disorder and anarchy seemed to provide good reason for a further application of the Metternich System

C. Revolution of 1820

1. Causes

2. Insurrection

March 7, 1820

3. Provisional government, 1820–1823

4. Failure

a. Minority

b. Strife

c. Metternich System

to Spain. A congress of the Quadruple Alliance was held at Verona, and it was decided that the powers should intervene to restore the internal stability of the Spanish government. France supplied the army of invasion, Ferdinand was restored to absolute power, and the Liberals were again severely punished. Democracy was suppressed and reaction was triumphant, but its triumph was destined to endure only until the majority of public opinion in Spain was converted to the ideals of democracy, and then it was certain to end.

1822

1823

D. American colonies not restored to Spain

The Quadruple Alliance wanted to restore to Spain her American colonies, but was prevented from doing so by two obstacles. First, England broke away from the alliance, and refused to permit any attack on the colonies, because she wanted to gain their commerce. Since she controlled the sea, the alliance could do nothing, and thus England scored again in her long struggle to take away the American trade from Spain. At the same time she inflicted upon the movement of reaction its first serious defeat in the struggle with democracy. Second, the Monroe Doctrine was issued by President Monroe of the United States, stating that his country would regard any attempt to extend the system of the Quadruple Alliance to the Western Hemisphere as a hostile act. Since the United States was the greatest power in America, her opposition was no small matter, and the Quadruple Alliance contented itself with the restoration of absolute monarchy in Spain.

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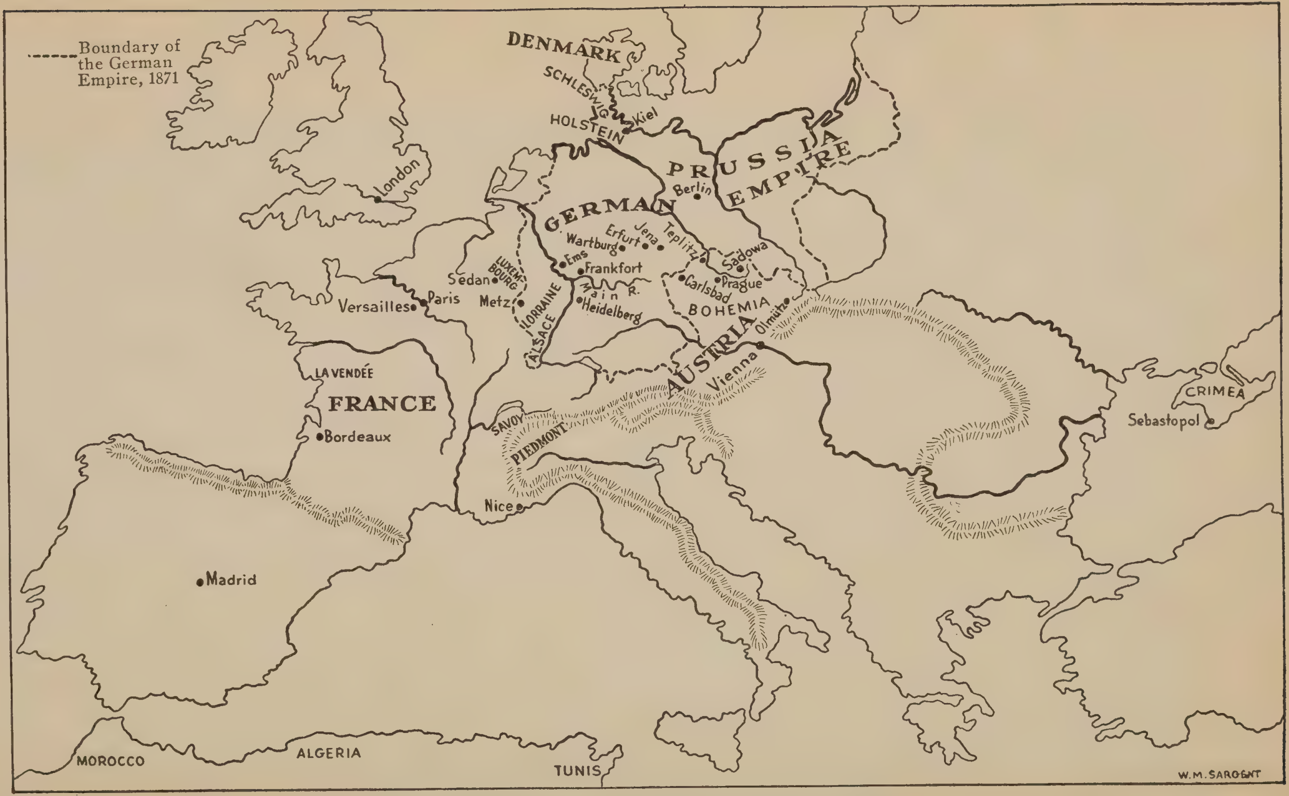
Boundary of the German Empire, 1871
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Kiel
London
PRUSSIA
GERMAN EMPIRE
Berlin
Teplitz
Jena
Erfurt
Wartburg
Ems
Frankfort
Main R.
Heidelberg
Sadowa
Prague
Carlsbad
BOHEMIA
Olmütz
AUSTRIA
Vienna
LUXEMBOURG
Sedan
Metz
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Paris
Versailles
LA VENDÉE
FRANCE
Bordeaux
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Nice
Madrid
CRIMEA
Sebastopol
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
W. M. SARGENT

France and Germany in the Nineteenth Century

CHAPTER XXIX

FRANCE DURING THE RESTORATION AND THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE (1814–1848)

I. Trend of the period

The period of French history following the return of Louis XVIII in 1814 is known as the Restoration, because the Bourbons were restored to the throne. This period lasted until 1830, when the Bourbons were overthrown by a revolution. Then for the next eighteen years France was ruled by Louis Philippe. During this whole epoch from 1814 to 1848 there were two dominant trends in French history. The first was a political development, in which the chief problem was whether the form of government should be absolute monarchy, or democracy, or a mixture of the two. The second was the growth of economic prosperity, due chiefly to foreign peace and internal order. This gave the Industrial Revolution a chance to increase the wealth of France. At the same time new economic problems arose as a result of the change in industry.

II. Louis XVIII (1814–1824)

A. The Constitutional Charter

As soon as Louis XVIII was restored, he granted a Constitutional Charter, which formed the basis of government during this period. The Charter marked certain definite gains by democracy; for example, it gave France a written constitution and a parliament. The parliament was composed of a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people and a Chamber of Peers appointed by the king. The control of taxation was placed in the hands of these representatives. In these respects and in several others France was a democratic state. However, it was not a fully democratic state, because there still remained certain fundamental essentials of democracy that were not clearly established. For instance, it was still a question whether the final authority rested with the king or people, because the Charter had been granted by the king, not imposed upon him. Besides, the ministers were responsible to the king, and in a fully democratic state they should be responsible to parliament.

1. Gains by democracy

2. Remaining questions

Two other unsettled questions were whether the press should be censored, and whether the franchise should be given to all citizens or restricted as it was in 1814 to a small portion of them. These were the political issues upon which Frenchmen disputed during the Restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe.

B. Period of reaction

1. Personality of Louis

2. Ultra-royalists

3. Acts of revenge, 1815–1816

4. Dismissal of Deputies

The first part of the reign of Louis XVIII witnessed a violent reaction against democracy. Louis himself was ready to accept a democratic state, in spite of the fact that he believed in the divine right of kings. He was a man of mediocre abilities, who naturally placed himself in the background. With him there returned to Paris a large number of *émigrés* led by his brother Charles, the Count of Artois. This group was hungry for revenge on the revolutionists who had driven them from France, killed their relatives, and seized their property. They condemned the Charter, wanted to see it abolished, and aimed at absolute monarchy. Consequently they were called Ultra-royalists or Ultras. The brief episode of the Hundred Days put them in power at its close, and they made full use of their position to commit acts of reprisal on their enemies. Many of Napoleon's generals and followers were executed, and in some parts of France mobs were allowed to persecute the liberals without any restraint by the government. The reaction became so furious that finally Louis dismissed the Chamber of Deputies and called for a new election.

C. Rule of Constitutional Royalists, 1816–1820

1. Payment of indemnity, 1818

2. Liberal measures

3. Increasing radicalism

The new election gave a majority to the Constitutional Royalists; that is, the party that wanted a monarchy and the Charter as it stood. For several years this party ruled France successfully. Their financial policy was so sound that they paid off the indemnity imposed upon France by the allies after the Hundred Days, and secured admission to the Quadruple Alliance. Thus the country regained prestige among the nations of Europe. Within France they established various liberal measures on the issues confronting the nation. Censorship of the press was greatly relaxed, and the electoral system was changed so as to favor the moderates. However, the Constitutional Royalists found it impossible to enact liberal measures without giving the radicals an opportunity to get control of the government. Year by year the number of radical deputies increased, and the party in power became more and more alarmed. When Abbé Grégoire, one of the famous leaders of the French Revolution, was elected, he was not allowed to take his seat. 1819 The danger of radicalism influenced many deputies to swing back to the Ultras. Then a crisis was reached when the Duke of Berri, the son of the Count of Artois and the heir presumptive to the throne, was assassinated. So great was the disgust of the French at the horrible deed that they gave their support to the Ultras, and once more the latter gained control of the Chamber of Deputies.

4. Assassination of the Duke of Berri, Feb. 13, 1820

1821

D. Reaction

1. Repressive measures

As soon as the Ultras came into power they started another period of reaction in which they passed a series of repressive measures. Since the chief political issues were the control of the press and the extent of the franchise, they naturally established a strict censorship, and restricted the electoral system so as to assure their ascendancy. This they did by passing what was known as the law of the double vote. According to this law the heaviest taxpayers were given a second vote by which they alone elected one quarter of the deputies. In addition they used corrupt methods, either to make people vote as they dictated, or else to prevent them from voting. In foreign policy the Ultras were equally reactionary, for they gave full support to the Holy Alliance. It happened that there had been a revolution in Spain in 1820 which had established a constitutional government. France now accepted an order from the Holy Alliance to suppress it. A French army invaded Spain, occupied Madrid with ease, and replaced the absolute monarch, Ferdinand VII, upon the throne.

1823

2. Intervention in Spain, 1823

III. Charles X (1824–1830)

A. Extreme reaction

1825

In 1824 Louis XVIII died and was followed by his brother Charles X. Since Charles was the leader of the Ultras, there was no change in policy except that the reaction became more extreme. One of his first measures was to pay the *émigrés* a huge sum of money to indemnify them for the lands they had lost during the Revolution. Since the money was secured by taking away from the bondholders of the government part of the interest that was due them, the indemnification was as fraudulent as the treatment which it aimed to correct. Consequently it made many enemies for the government. Another measure was the Law of Sacrilege, which provided that theft from ecclesiastical buildings should be punished by death. By these, and other measures which followed, Charles X made it evident that his ultimate aim was to overthrow the constitution completely and establish an absolute monarchy.

B. Growth of opposition

As the reaction became more extreme, the opposition grew in strength. The Law of Sacrilege was passed, but it was never enforced. An equally unpopular law, called the Law of Primogeniture and intended to change the mode of inheritance to favor the eldest son, was defeated in the Chamber of Peers. These events showed that the government was losing power, but the most decisive indication that it was doomed to meet destruction was the fact that Talleyrand deserted it and joined the opposition. 1829 In all the history of France no one was ever more expert than Talleyrand in foreseeing when a party was destined to fall and when it was wise to jump to the other side. Lafayette made a tour of the country to stir up sentiment against the Ultras. Finally the opposition to the policy of the government became so strong that in the elections in the summer of 1830 a majority was elected opposed to Charles X. June–July, 1830 In order not to lose control, he resorted to extreme measures. He dismissed the Deputies before they had even met, and issued the Four Ordinances, which violated the spirit of the Charter so completely that the king's action was equivalent to repealing it. June 26, 1830 One of them established an extremely strict censorship, and another changed the electoral system so as to give control to the landed aristocracy. The result was the July Revolution of 1830.

C. Revolution of 1830

The first step toward revolution was taken by the journalists, who published a protest declaring that they would resist the government. Then some of the deputies-elect, who happened to be in Paris, issued a similar protest. By this time the people were aroused to the realization that the Ordinances meant the overthrow of constitutional government; angry crowds gathered in the streets; barricades were erected; and then fighting began. July 28, 1830 The advantage was all on the side of the people, because the streets, being narrow and crooked, were easily defended, and besides the soldiers sympathized with their cause so much that they fought only half-heartedly. After three days of conflict the revolutionists were victorious, and a portion of the Deputies chose Louis Philippe Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Louis Philippe was a member of the younger branch of the House of Bourbon called the House of Orleans, and so had a distant claim to the throne. During the Restoration period he had cultivated popularity by associating with the people in a democratic manner. The problem was now to decide what kind of government to establish in place of that of Charles X. Some did not want a change of dynasty, others wanted a change but wanted to keep the monarchy, while still others led by Lafayette wanted a republic. The Republicans yielded when Lafayette gave his support to Louis Philippe. Then Charles X abdicated in favor of his grandson, so the deputies declared that the throne was vacant, and gave it to Louis Philippe. Thus he became King of France, but his hold upon the throne was none too strong, because he had been chosen only by a small part of the deputies, and their right to choose the king was questionable. As a matter of fact the Revolution of 1830 was not a revolution but a *coup d'état*. No fundamental change was made in the political or social structure of society. The only change was a change in the party in control of the government, and this was brought about by force instead of an election. In addition, the Revolution of 1830 had a widespread effect throughout Europe, for it stimulated discontented peoples in other countries to resort to arms to gain greater democracy in their own government.

July 31, 1830

July 31, 1830

Aug. 7, 1830

IV. Louis Philippe (1830–1848)

A. Shifting ministries, 1830–1840

1. Revision of the Charter

The first period of the reign of Louis Philippe was a period of shifting ministries, because there was no one party which could gain a strong enough majority to keep control of the government for a long time. During this period the first important achievement was the revision of the Charter. Various changes in the Charter, tending to make it more democratic, were imposed upon the king, thus establishing the principle of a written constitution. During the reign of Louis Philippe there was no attempt by the government to do away with the Charter or even to change it. The issues in this reign were the old issues of the press and the franchise, to which were added two new issues of foreign policy and labor. In foreign policy the question was whether France should intervene to assist those revolutionary movements in other countries which had been stimulated by the Revolution of 1830. In labor the problem concerned the changed conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution, whereby the proletariat were as much at the mercy of their employers, the bourgeoisie, as they had ever been at the mercy of the privileged classes during the Old Régime. After the Revolution of 1830 they were still left without any share in the government. Consequently they demanded both political privileges and an economic revolution that would give them more of the wealth of society.

2. Policy To meet these problems the government adopted a policy of non-intervention abroad. At home they aimed at maintenance of order and reform. One very important reform achieved was 1833 the establishment of a complete national system of primary education provided by the government and required of everybody. 1832 Another was a reform of the penal code, so as to remove much of its brutality and lower the number of death penalties by one half. However, this policy was not sufficient to satisfy **3. Revolts** everybody, and for a few years the government had to contend with revolts. On the one hand the followers of the Bourbons felt that Henry, the grandson of Charles X, had been illegally deprived of the crown. They took the name of Legitimists, and under the leadership of the Duchess of Berri, Henry's mother, 1832 started an insurrection in La Vendée. The insurrection was soon suppressed, but the Legitimists still continued to exist and to look for an opportunity to place the Bourbon claimant on the throne again. At the other extreme the Republicans attempted more than once to repeat the success of the Revolution of 1830 1832, 1834 and drive the Monarchists from power. But on each occasion when they started to riot the national guard and the soldiers remained true to the government, and finally they were completely subdued with considerable bloodshed. Then the government resorted to repressive laws. **4. Repressive measures, Sept., 1835** The press was shackled once more, and special courts were established for the trial of traitors. Those convicted of insurrection were severely punished. Such brutality cowed the Republicans into submission, but it hurt the government, for those in power divided into two parties. One was the party of progress and the other the party of resistance. The party of progress disapproved of the severe measures used against the insurrectionists, and wanted a policy of continual movement in the direction of reform. Especially they demanded that the ministry be made fully responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. The party of resistance stood for a strict maintenance of the *status quo,* and wanted the ministry to be responsible to the king. The first party was led by a gifted journalist named Thiers. The second party was led by a prominent politician named Guizot. The struggle between the two parties was complicated by the fact that as Louis Philippe felt himself more and more secure upon the throne, he tried to get a greater control over the government and to secure favors, such as large pensions for his children. This offended a large section of public opinion, but nevertheless the party of resistance which he favored finally gained control.

5. Division into two parties

The second part of the reign of Louis Philippe was the ministry of Guizot, during which the party of resistance remained constantly in power. Guizot's policy was inaction. He wanted no change on any of the political issues such as the press and the franchise. He not only refused to do anything to solve the needs of the time, but even refused to see that there were any needs. Though he was a man of scrupulous honesty in private life, he resorted to an elaborate system of political corruption to maintain himself and his party in power. Votes were systematically bought, deputies were made servile to the government by giving them lucrative offices, and the members of the Chamber were even required to vote one at a time in full view of officials who watched to see if they were faithful to the party of resistance. In appearances France was a democracy with a constitution and a system of elections that gave the sovereignty to the people. But in reality the government was not representative of the people, because only about two hundred thousand citizens were allowed to vote, and the majority of the deputies they elected were the henchmen of Guizot and his machine.

B. Ministry of Guizot, 1840–1848

1. Policy

While Guizot was able to maintain this deceptive majority, the opposition to his régime continued to grow nevertheless. Of

2. Opposition

course there was the opposition of his natural enemies: the Legitimists, the Republicans, and the Bonapartists. The Bonapartists had been growing in numbers, and Louis Napoleon, 1836–1840 the nephew and heir of Napoleon I, had attempted two insurrections. In addition there was a new and growing party called the Socialists. The Socialists declared that property was not a natural right but a legal right. Consequently society had the authority to take anybody's property and regulate it so that it would not interfere with an equal division of the burdens and benefits of all. They insisted that every man should be given the right to labor, and that the government should protect him in this right just as much as it protected him in the security of his life. One of the chief leaders of the Socialists was a peaceful theorist named Saint Simon. He said that the state should own and regulate the means of production according to the principle of " labor according to capacity and reward according to services." Another leader was a practical politician named Louis Blanc. He advocated the organization of national workshops; that is, factories in which the workers should also be the employers, and should divide the profits among themselves. The government should finance these workshops until they were well started. This was essentially coöperative production, a form of industry later successfully practiced by private concerns.

V. Revolution of 1848
A. Reform banquets, 1847

Finally the opponents of the government began a vigorous demand for an extension of the franchise. To arouse public opinion they held big " reform banquets " all over France. The men who started the banquets demanded only moderate reforms. Then some revolutionists took up the idea and held " revolutionary banquets " in which they advocated nothing less than revolution. After some months of such agitation arrangements were made for a super-banquet on Feburary 22, 1848, in Paris. So intense was the excitement that the government forbade it, and the leaders canceled their plans. By that time, however, the public was so thoroughly aroused that they disregarded the action of their leaders. Crowds of workingmen and students gathered on the streets and there were excited demonstrations all day. That night barricades were

B. Insurrection

erected. In this crisis the National Guard failed the government, for they either joined the insurgents or were apathetic. Louis Philippe instead of showing his usual courage revealed an unnatural weakness. He tried to save himself by dismissing Guizot on the next day. Still the mob was not satisfied. That evening they attacked Guizot's house, and the result was a brief fight in which some of the people were killed. The rest of the mob took this as a sign of treachery, loaded the bodies of the fallen upon a cart and paraded them through the streets to show the people that the king was playing them false. All that night was spent in erecting barricades in preparation for a fight the next day. A half-hearted attack by the government troops failed and the king offered to abdicate in favor of his grandson. The offer was refused. The revolutionists organized a provisional government which made its headquarters at the Hôtel de Ville and demanded a republic. Their demand was successful. The king abdicated and on Febuary 25, 1848, the Second French Republic was declared. The Republic was a surprise to France. Most of the people did not want it and few had expected a successful revolution. Only a careful study of history has since revealed how the gradual accumulation of discontent during the reign of Louis Philippe created a condition in which a few accidents could result in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Second Republic.

Feb. 23, 1848

Feb. 24, 1848

C. Declaration of Second French Republic

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CHAPTER XXX

GERMANY UNDER THE METTERNICH SYSTEM (1815–1851)

I. Germany in 1815

A. Problems

1. National unity

In the year 1815, the eventful year of Waterloo and the end of the Congress of Vienna, Germany faced two problems. The first of these was national unity. England, France and Spain had achieved national unity with a strongly centralized government at least three centuries before. A few of the Germans had wished to see their country do the same, but in vain. This ambition was kindled anew and made stronger than ever by the struggle to expel Napoleon. Unfortunately there were several serious obstacles in the way. One of these was tradition — the mere habit of having a loose confederation of states. Another was the fear of the small states that in a close union the big states, especially Prussia, would gain all the power and benefits. Austria was one of the biggest obstacles, because Austria was engaged in a bitter rivalry with Prussia, and in order to be victorious it was necessary for her to dominate the German states. This she could not do if they formed a unified nation, because the larger part of the population of the Austrian Empire were non-Germans and would be excluded. One of the chief obstacles was the failure of all previous attempts to establish a strong nation-state, such as those of Maximilian, and the lack of any better plan around which the nationalists could be called to rally.

2. Democratic government

The second great problem confronting Germany in 1815 was the achievement of democratic government. In the three years following the Congress of Vienna only three German states acquired constitutions. Everywhere else the Metternich System with its usual characteristics of absolutism, espionage and censorship was dominant. Yet there were many who wanted democracy. Their problem was how to achieve it, and to achieve not only the form but also the substance. These two problems set the goals toward which Germany was destined to travel in the century that followed the Congress of Vienna.

B. German Confederation

The nationalists were greatly disappointed in 1815 when the Congress of Vienna established the German Confederation, for it was the same type of loose union that had existed under the Holy Roman Empire for many centuries. As a result, the history of Germany in this period must be discussed under two headings; the German Confederation and Prussia. Each has to be kept distinct from the other and discussed in its turn.

1. Distinct from Prussia

2. Constitution, May 14, 1815

3. Diet

The German Confederation consisted of thirty-nine states, of which Prussia and Austria were the largest. It had some of the forms of a democratic state, because the Congress of Vienna gave it a constitution and an assembly called the diet. However, these forms were of little value, especially the diet, because its members were nominated by the rulers of the states, not elected by the people. Besides, the lack of an army and treasury deprived it of any real power, and it was only when Austria enforced its decisions that they were observed. That, of course, was not democracy, but Austrian overlordship. It probably satisfied the wishes of the larger part of German opinion at the time, but it was destined to grow less and less satisfactory as the demand for national unity increased.

II. Liberal movement

A. In Prussia

A strong liberal movement aiming at national unity and democracy was in full swing in 1815. It was particularly powerful in Prussia, where it was led by Hardenberg, the great statesman, and by Arndt, a professor. During the episode of the Hundred Days it had made progress, because Frederick William III needed the help of the liberals to oppose Napoleon, and in order to gain it he promised that he would give Prussia a written constitution and a central representative assembly. He even appointed a commission to investigate and report on the best form of representative government. All over Germany

B. Societies

liberal societies were organized, of which the most popular were athletic unions called *Turnvereins*. These were organized chiefly by an eccentric, fiery leader named Jahn. They met for physical exercise, and with these exercises they combined patriotic zeal. Another group of liberal societies were the student unions, called *Burschenschaften*. The first was organized at the University of Jena, and soon others sprang up all over Germany. Thus they formed national ties that broke across the provincial boundaries of the different states. They required sobriety and chastity for entrance, and they adopted as their emblem a flag of red, black and gold in the erroneous belief that these were the colors of the Holy Roman Empire. On the anniversary of the great battle of Leipzig, which had freed Germany from Napoleon, they held a festival at the historic castle of Wartburg, where Luther had found refuge from the emperor. There was a banquet, fiery oratory and finally a torchlight procession ending with a bonfire, where in imitation of Luther they burned some notoriously reactionary books. It was a harmless expression of student enthusiasm, but to reactionaries like Metternich it looked dangerously like revolution. Such fears were increased a year and a half later when Kotzebue, a leading reactionary, was murdered by a student named Karl Sand. Sand was insane, but nevertheless he was executed for the deed, and the blame was laid upon the *Burschenschaften*. Some liberals even made the mistake of defending his action, and thus discredited the whole movement. A subsequent attempt to murder a minister of state in Nassau offended public opinion still more.

C. Wartburg Festival, Oct. 18, 1817

D. Murder of Kotzebue, March 23, 1819

The consequence was a movement of reaction led by Metternich. He had been watching the liberal movement closely, and had not failed to give the rulers in Germany ample warning of danger. Each outbreak, such as the Wartburg Festival, was used as an argument to impress upon them the necessity of enforcing the Metternich System. After the murder of Kotzebue he began to act. He had a conference with Frederick William III at Töplitz, in which he warned him that he would not assist him to suppress any uprisings unless he gave up his plan for representative government in Prussia, and supported a policy for stopping the liberal movement in Germany. Then he held a series of conferences with the leading reactionary statesmen at Carlsbad, and gained their support for the Carlsbad Decrees. These were pushed through the diet with little opposition. They established a strict censorship over universities and the press, and provided for a standing committee to be on the

III. Reaction

A. Metternich's policy

July 1, 1819

B. Carlsbad Decrees, 1819

watch against any revolutionary tendencies. In addition the diet passed a declaration against the establishment of representative government. Finally Frederick William was persuaded to recall the commission which he had appointed, and all hope of national unity or democratic government in Germany seemed at an end.

June 8, 1820

C. Frederick William III recalls commission

IV. Progress toward unity and democracy

A. Good administration in Prussia

Nevertheless during the next generation important progress was made in the direction of these goals. While the form of government in Prussia remained an absolute monarchy, it went a long way toward being a government for the benefit of the governed by providing a more efficient administration than any which the country had ever known. One good evidence of this was the establishment of a system of state education. Primary schools were supported by the state and attendance was made almost compulsory. The most important step in advance toward national unity was the *Zollverein* or tariff union. This originated in Prussia. The western part of Prussia was industrial and the eastern part agricultural. The natural result was for them to exchange their products, but this was made difficult by sixty-seven different tariff boundaries that not only hampered trade but also encouraged a great deal of smuggling. Soon after the Congress of Vienna Prussia abolished these obstacles to natural economic activity, placed one tariff wall around the whole country, and lowered duties to a point that made smuggling unprofitable. Then she invited the other states of Germany to come within this tariff wall and share the revenue on the basis of population. For a long time the states were suspicious, since they were smaller than Prussia, and feared that the arrangement would be all to her benefit. They even tried to establish a *Zollverein* of their own on a similar plan, but it did not work well. Finally two states joined the Prussian *Zollverein,* and within ten years almost all of them were members. Austria was not invited to join because she was a rival of Prussia. Consequently she did all that was possible to hinder the movement, but in vain. The *Zollverein* had many important results: it pointed to Prussia as the leading state in Germany; it established an economic union that tended to develop into a political one; it stimulated indus-

B. *Zollverein*

1818

1833

1842

try; and it brought about an improvement in transportation facilities.

C. Constitutional schemes in Prussia

Another step in advance came with the accession of Frederick William IV to the throne of Prussia. At that time the patriotic fervor of the Germans was aroused by the possibility of war with France over the Near East. A new national anthem, *The Watch on the Rhine,* gave voice to the spirit of German nationalism, and a pardon which Frederick William IV granted to political exiles stimulated the hopes of the Liberals. Then they looked for something to be done, and at first it seemed as if Frederick William IV would be more democratic. However, he was a man who lacked steadfastness, shifted from one policy to another, and at heart preferred a strictly absolute government. At length he needed money for the building of an important railway, and since a recent proclamation required that the consent of the estates must be secured for new taxes, he called the United Landtag. Before the representatives began their deliberations he forbade them to discuss the matter of a constitution. This was exactly the subject which some of them wanted to discuss most of all, and when they found the king so opposed to it, they refused to vote the money for the railroad. Then they were sent home. In appearance they had accomplished nothing, but in reality their meeting was important, because it brought the opposition of the king and his people to the point where apparently there was no solution for the problem of progress except revolution. It was a dangerous time for such a conviction to be broadcast, for a few months later the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France, and the contagion soon spread to the German states. 1847

V. Revolution of 1848
A. Revolt
1. In Prussia
March 18–20, 1848

The revolution began first of all in Berlin, in spite of the fact that the king had already summoned a constitutional assembly. Barricades were erected and there were bloody street fights. Then Frederick William IV yielded, ordered the soldiers to leave the city, honored the bodies of the insurgents who had fallen, and paraded through the streets with the colors of red, black and gold upon his breast. Most important of all, he issued an order that the constitutional assembly was to be elected by universal, manhood suffrage, and two months later it opened in Berlin. Meanwhile the revolution had spread throughout Germany and a committee of liberals had met at Heidelberg and issued a call for a national assembly. This assembly in turn arranged with the consent of the diet for the election of a parliament, which met at Frankfort to draw up a constitution for a united German empire. It was a highly educated body of men, many of whom were famous for their intellectual achievements. In general they had a large measure of support, and some of the states even took a friendly attitude.

May 22, 1848
2. In the German Confederation
May 18, 1848

B. Suppression
1. In Prussia

Unfortunately for the progress of democracy and German unity, the fair prospects with which the Revolution of 1848 began were doomed to fade. In Berlin the constitutional assembly became more and more radical in its discussions. Meanwhile a revolution in Vienna had been suppressed, and Frederick William, encouraged by the change in the situation, decided to rid himself of the assembly. He adjourned its sessions to a small town, called back the soldiers to Berlin, and then dismissed the assembly. At the same time he was wise enough not to let the liberals go entirely disappointed, for he granted a constitution on his own authority that partially filled the demand. It provided for an assembly, the lower house of which should be elected, yet at the same time it carefully kept all the real power in the hands of the king. This was done by two measures. First, the ministers were made responsible to him and not to parliament. Second, a class system of franchise was established by which the voters were divided into three classes on the basis of the amount of taxes which they paid. Each elected the same number of representatives, but since the largest taxpayers were the smallest class in numbers they were consequently represented proportionately by a larger number of men. This gave the control of the assembly to the rich, who were more conservative and more easily controlled by the king.

2. In the German Confederation

a. Delays

The Frankfort Parliament made the mistake of taking a long time to get started on the solution of the real issues before them. The delegates wasted precious weeks in composing a statement of abstract, democratic principles similar to the Declaration of the Rights of Man drafted in the French Revolution of 1789. Then they were called upon to decide one of the most difficult questions in European diplomacy. This was the question of Schleswig-Holstein. Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies in the southern part of the Danish peninsula, which were inhabited mainly by Germans, but had been inherited by the King of Denmark. In accordance with old feudal principles he ruled over them as duke quite separately from Denmark. Holstein was a member of the German Confederation. Shortly before 1848 it was evident that the direct male line in the Danish dynasty would die out. In the duchies the inheritance was restricted to the male line; in Denmark it was not. That meant that the duchies would be inherited by a different person from the heir of the Danish throne, and so would be completely separated from Denmark. To avoid this result the King of Denmark issued a declaration that whatever happened he would make sure that the duchies and Denmark were not separated. This aroused the German people in Schleswig-Holstein to revolt. In the name of German unity they appealed to the diet to rescue them and unite them to the German nation, to which they felt they belonged. Since the diet had no army of its own, it authorized Prussia to protect them against Denmark. Soon afterwards the Frankfort Parliament met and approved the action of the diet. They could do no less, because unifying Germany was the one, big task before them, and to have deserted the duchies would have been neglecting that task. The Prussian army easily defeated the Danes, but then England and Russia intervened and influenced Prussia to make an armistice withdrawing her troops. Of course the German people in the duchies were bitterly disappointed, and the Frankfort Parliament was so furious they even accused Frederick William IV of cowardice. They submitted because they had to, but the incident left plenty of bad feeling between the parliament and Prussia. After the expiration of the truce in the next year, the powers met in London and decided that the same person should inherit both Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, thus maintaining the status established by the Congress of Vienna.

b. Schleswig-Holstein question

Jan. 28, 1848

March 15, 1848

Aug., 1848

April 3,

Aug. 2, 1850

The Frankfort Parliament finally succeeded in drafting a constitution for a closely organized federation, but in doing

c. Boundaries

Oct. 27, 1848

so they met two serious difficulties. One was the problem of boundaries. The question was whether Austria with its large majority of non-German peoples should be included. After long debates it was finally decided that Austria should be offered admission with only her Germanic provinces. Austria delayed her reply for a long time, and then answered that she would neither allow herself to be excluded nor enter without her non-German provinces. This meant that she would be an enemy of the constitution drawn up at Frankfort and would try to defeat it.

d. Crown

March 28, 1849

April 21, 1849

June 18, 1849

The difficulties of the parliament with the second problem gave Austria her chance for revenge. This problem was to choose a head for the new empire. It was finally decided that the crown should be offered to the King of Prussia, because Frederick William IV had often expressed his sympathy with the cause of German unity. But Frederick William was a vacillating man, and his mind had changed since the revolution started. The riots in Berlin and the Schleswig-Holstein affair had made him wary about accepting a crown offered him by a revolutionary assembly — as he expressed it, "picked from the gutter." Instead of giving a straightforward refusal, he dallied with the matter, and while he hesitated Austria informed him in no uncertain terms that he must refuse the crown. He did, and the result was disastrous for the Frankfort Parliament. Riots discredited it, the moderates withdrew their support, and finally the members were driven out by the soldiers. In thirteen months it had achieved nothing concrete, but it had done much to clear the way for those who came afterwards.

e. Humiliation of Olmütz, Nov. 28, 1850

March 20, 1850

The task of uniting Germany was then taken up by Frederick William. His plan was to form a union centering on Prussia and excluding Austria. This plan failed for several reasons. The liberals refused to support him, because they were offended by the autocratic nature of the constitution he had given Prussia. A union parliament which he summoned to meet at Erfurt was far from a success, and his effort was completely ruined when Austria finally sent an ultimatum ordering him to desist. His minister met the Austrian chancellor at an interview at Olmütz and there granted all his demands. This incident was known as the "Humiliation of Olmütz." It marked the extreme degradation of Prussia before her rival Austria, because after this crisis Prussian power began to increase. Austria then proceeded to reëstablish the German Confederation. Nov. 28, 1850 1851

The Revolution of 1848 in Germany had ended. The Metternich System had triumphed. Apparently Germany was no nearer than ever to either unity or democracy. In reality, however, progress had been made, and in that progress two important achievements were the constitution in Prussia and the enlightenment spread by the Frankfort Parliament.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

I. Second Republic, 1848–1852

A. Provisional Government, Feb. 24–May 4, 1848

1. Two parties

The development of the Second French Republic was divided into three periods. The first of these was the period of the Provisional Government organized during the Revolution of 1848. At the very start of the Provisional Government it became evident that France was in the grip of two different parties: the Republicans and the Socialists. The Republicans were led by Lamartine and wanted merely a political revolution by which the government of the country should be changed from a monarchy to a republic. The Socialists were led by Louis Blanc and they wanted a social revolution by which the whole organization of society should be changed. This meant in particular an economic change by which the relations of labor and capital should be put on an entirely new basis.

2. Socialistic measures

Feb. 28, 1848

In order to satisfy the Socialists the Provisional Government granted two of their demands. First, they established a committee headed by Louis Blanc and Albert to "look after" the interests of the laboring class. This committee took up its residence in the Luxembourg palace and consequently was known as the Luxembourg Committee. It formulated some excellent resolutions and issued some admirable orders, but it had no power to enforce them and so accomplished nothing except to arouse further discontent. Second, the Provisional Government established National Workshops. This would have been a difficult task in a time of peace and prosperity, because it involved so many details of organization and readjustment. In a time of revolution and financial difficulty it was a wild adventure. Several mistakes were made, of which the most serious was to transform the plan from a productive measure into a relief measure. Louis Blanc had intended that the workers should be employed in producing useful articles. Instead, the committee in charge of the National Workshops put anybody and everybody to work on such tasks as repairing the fortifications at two francs (forty cents) a day. Workers flocked to Paris in large numbers. Before two months had passed there were 120,000 of them and the government had work for only 14,000. To solve this problem each laborer was employed for only two days a week, and the other four days he was left idle with a dole of one and one-half francs. This created a mob of restless, discontented, ignorant laborers who were ready to listen to any kind of agitation and join in any kind of disturbance. Thousands of them enrolled in the National Guard until its membership increased from some 50,000 to 200,000. They were of course given arms, and armed demonstrations before the Hôtel de Ville became frequent. In April the elections were held for a constitutional convention and the Socialists suffered a complete defeat. Out of the 900 deputies more than 800 were moderate republicans. The people of France had rejected the social revolution.

3. Election of a constitutional convention, April 23, 1848

B. National Assembly

The constitutional convention was given the name of the National Assembly, and the period during which it ruled France was the second period of the Second French Republic. Soon after the members of the National Assembly took their seats the Socialists tried to recover from their defeat by an insurrection. A mob was organized and the hall of the Assembly was invaded. For a time there was a tumultuous scene while the Socialists took control of the house. Then the National Guard came to the rescue of the Assembly and drove the Socialists into the street. A month later the Assembly decided that the time had come to abolish the National Workshops. They were costing 150,000 francs a day at a time when the government was in such serious financial straits that it was almost impossible to secure loans. Besides, they created an armed mob that was a vicious menace to the security of the government. For these reasons the National Workshops were ordered closed, the younger workers were told that they might enlist in the army and the older workers were offered employment on the public works in the provinces. The laborers regarded this as an underhanded attempt to remove them from Paris and in-

May 4, 1848

1. Insurrection, May 15, 1848

2. Abolition of the workshops

June 21, 1848

dignantly refused to submit. The result was four days of terribly bloody street fighting known as the June Days. Most of the insurgents had military experience and they showed it by erecting well-constructed barricades. An army of 50,000 Socialists resisted some 40,000 government troops. In reality it was a class war in which the new class of factory labor was fighting the bourgeoisie. Women fought beside the men. In the emergency the National Assembly made General Cavaignac dictator of France. With the help of artillery he finally broke down all the barricades and suppressed the insurrection. Many of the prisoners were shot without mercy. There were 11,000 arrests, and 3,000 prisoners were exiled to Algeria without trial. The main result of the insurrection was to turn France against the Republic, though for the time being it was tolerated.

3. June Days, June 23–26, 1848

After the suppression of the insurrection the members of the National Assembly turned their attention to the making of a constitution. The result of their efforts was a triumph for democracy, for they drafted a constitution which provided for universal suffrage. It created a legislative body consisting of one house — the form commonly regarded as most democratic. The executive power was given to a president who was to be elected for a term of four years and could not be reëlected. When the elections took place there were three leading candidates: Cavaignac, the dictator who had saved France; Ledru-Rollin, the leader of the Socialists; and Louis Napoleon. Louis Napoleon was the nephew of Napoleon I. Twice during the reign of Louis Philippe he had tried unsuccessfully to regain the throne of his uncle. Then the Revolution of 1848 gave him his chance. He was elected to the National Assembly from five different departments and finally he was chosen president of the Second Republic by an overwhelming majority. Nothing could have showed more clearly that what the French people wanted was a monarchy, not a republic.

4. Constitution

5. Election of Louis Napoleon, Dec. 10, 1848

1836, 1848

The third period of the Second French Republic was the administration of Louis Napoleon. The new president of France wanted above everything else to suppress the Republicans. The reason for this was that he was at heart a monarchist. He united with the Monarchists, who had the major-

C. Administration of Louis Napoleon

1. Suppression of the Republicans

ity in the Assembly, to pass several severe laws against the Republicans. The press was closely shackled, and, most serious of all, the franchise was changed so as to disqualify millions of workingmen.

2. Conflict between the president and the Monarchists

As soon as the Republican Party was subdued the situation changed. The Monarchists, who had supported the president, turned against him, because they saw that he was trying to build up a Bonapartist following and put himself upon the throne of a new empire. The one hope of the Monarchists was the fact that at the end of the president's term of four years he would not be eligible for reëlection, and then they could get rid of him. Louis Napoleon, on the other hand, tried to force them to change the law so as to permit his reëlection, but in vain. Then he laid careful plans for a *coup d'état* by which he could exclude them from power. To gain public favor he demanded that the law restricting the franchise should be repealed. To gain the support of the army he held frequent reviews and appointed his friends to important positions.

3. Overthrow of Second Republic

On December 2, 1851, the *coup d'état* was carried out with extreme skill and relentless severity. Long before daybreak soldiers were posted in the printing houses, the belfries, and all other places of strategic importance in arousing the people. The hall of the assembly was closed, and all political leaders who might be expected to make any serious resistance were arrested. A proclamation was printed and circulated widely telling the people that the president was prevented by the enemies of the Republic from performing the tasks laid upon him when he assumed the office. In order that he might have a full opportunity to accomplish his mission he asked that his term of office be extended to ten years, and called upon the French people to ratify by a plebiscite this and other changes in the constitution. The plebiscite resulted in a huge majority in favor of the changes, but the majority was due largely to the fact that the president used every means in his power, including force, to sway the voters. During the weeks preceding and following the election more than 26,000 people were arrested for political reasons, and of these more than half were sentenced to exile, imprisonment and other punishments.

Dec. 21, 1851

As soon as the *coup d'état* was successfully carried through, the president's next move was to arouse public opinion in favor of a reëstablishment of the Empire founded by Napoleon I. In the fall of 1852 a tour of the provinces showed that popular enthusiasm was sufficiently strong to justify the change; a plebiscite voted in favor of it; and on December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the *coup d'état,* Louis Napoleon was crowned Napoleon III. Thus began the period known in history as the Second French Empire.

II. Second Empire, 1852–1870
A. Policy of Napoleon III

The policy of Napoleon III is the key to the understanding of the Second Empire. This policy had two dominant features. The first was the restoration of the Empire. This involved not only putting the Bonaparte dynasty back on the throne, but also the destruction of the work of the Congress of Vienna. The Congress of Vienna had been a victory for the enemies of the First Empire. If the Empire was to be restored, its work throughout Europe must be undone. To this end Napoleon III shaped his foreign policy. The second feature of his policy was to establish an autocratic government in France until the work of restoring the Empire was completed, and then to change to a liberal empire in which the institutions of democracy should have full sway.

B. Benevolent despotism

Consequently the internal history of France during the Second Empire was divided into two clearly marked periods. The first was a period of benevolent despotism and the second was a period of change to a liberal empire. During the period of benevolent despotism the government had the forms of democracy, but in reality it was an absolute monarchy. The constitution was closely patterned after the constitution of the Consulate established by Napoleon I. Though it provided for universal suffrage, this was of no value, because the people were practically forced to vote for the government candidates. There was a legislative assembly of two houses, but it had no real power. The real power was in the hands of the emperor. The ministry was responsible to him; he alone could initiate laws; he appointed all the important officials; and he had the power of declaring war and making peace. The press was strictly censored. The consequence was that political activities ceased, except for the meaningless exercise of worthless forms. The people of France submitted to the autocracy of the emperor and turned their attention away from politics to other affairs. One reason they yielded so readily to absolutism was because Napoleon III did a great deal to make his government internally a benefit to France. Economically France prospered as never before, and this prosperity was largely due to government policies. For instance, a Land Bank was established with power to make long-term loans to landlords at low rates of interest. The mileage of the railways increased nearly five times in the first seven years of his reign. Steamship lines were extended, factories built, and canals constructed. To stimulate business the Exposition of Paris was held and became the first of a series of great world fairs. Of course there were economic misfortunes, such as floods, and the emperor made the mistake of initiating a policy of free trade, but on the whole France prospered enormously. Another factor which reconciled the French to the autocracy of Napoleon III was his humanitarian activities in building hospitals, constructing foundling asylums, and organizing relief societies. Besides, they were proud of the brilliant court which he maintained at Paris with Empress Eugénie. The city of Paris was beautified by the construction of great boulevards and public buildings.

C. Wars
1. Crimean War, 1854–1856

Unfortunately the foreign policy of Napoleon III was neither as beneficent nor as successful as his internal government. His ambition to overthrow the work of Vienna, and other policies, involved him in a series of unnecessary and disastrous wars. The first of these was the Crimean War, 1854–1856. This war was caused primarily by the desire of Napoleon III to favor the Roman Catholic clergy, one of the groups upon which he relied most of all for support. To please them he demanded of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire that the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine be intrusted to them. This involved him in a quarrel with Russia, because Russia demanded the same right for the Greek Catholics. Then Russia invaded the Ottoman Empire with the intention of dismembering it. Upon that France formed an alliance with England, and declared war in defense of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The war was fought mainly upon the Crimean peninsula in the Black Sea for the possession of the important fortress of Sebastopol. It was a long succession of heroic sacrifices by the common soldiers and of ghastly mistakes by the generals. The French commander refused to attempt to take the city by storm, as might easily have been done, and insisted upon lengthy siege operations that lasted during a horrible winter and more than a year. Sebastopol was taken, but Russia was far from conquered. Peace came because Austria threatened to join the allies, and a new tsar ascended the throne of Russia. He was opposed to the war, and a peace was arranged by the Congress of Paris, 1856. The peace confirmed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The congress made Paris the diplomatic center of Europe, and left France the dominant military power of the world. For the moment Napoleon III reveled in glory, but neither the treaty nor the glory was destined to endure long.

2. Austro-Sardinian War, 1859

The second war in which he engaged was the Austro-Sardinian War, 1859. It was caused by the situation in Italy. One of the most important achievements of the Congress of Vienna had been the division of Italy into small states dominated by Austria. Ever since that time there had been a growing movement in Italy, which aimed at the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula and the unification of the country under a democratic government. After the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 this movement was led by Cavour, the prime minister of Piedmont. The story of his work will be told in the chapter on the Unification of Italy, but it is necessary to state here that Napoleon III made a secret treaty with him by which he agreed to come to his aid in case Piedmont was attacked by Austria. Two motives influenced Napoleon to make this treaty: first, to destroy the work of the Congress of Vienna, and, second, to gain as a reward the border provinces of Nice and Savoy. Cavour cleverly induced Austria to attack Piedmont. The French armies marched into Italy, and the Austrians were defeated in two bloody battles. Then to everybody's surprise Napoleon suddenly made peace and withdrew from the war. Later, by negotiations with Piedmont he gained the cession of Nice and Savoy for France, but the war was disastrous for his reputation. It offended the Roman Catholics in France, his strongest followers, because it aided Piedmont, the enemy of the pope. It offended the Italians, because he deserted them, and it alarmed Europe, because it looked like the beginning of a career of conquest similar to that of Napoleon I. At the same time it hurt his prestige, because it showed a lack of courage and firmness.

3. Mexican Expedition

The third war was the Mexican Expedition. This was caused mainly by the desire to please the Roman Catholics and to help the French capitalists who had loaned money to Mexico. It happened that the Liberals in Mexico had gained control of the government. They were anti-Catholic and also unable to pay their debts to foreign creditors. Since the United 1861 States was just entering upon the Civil War, France, England and Spain agreed upon armed intervention to protect the rights of foreign creditors in Mexico. Napoleon secretly intended to establish a Roman Catholic empire in the country. When 1862 Spain and England discovered his plans they withdrew from the alliance and left France to go on alone. The French invaded the country and conquered it in spite of the Monroe Doctrine. Maximilian, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, 1864 was made Emperor of Mexico. He found that his task was not an easy one. The Roman Catholics quarreled with his government. When the United States emerged victorious from the Civil War, Napoleon III was compelled to recall his troops. Maximilian was left with a worthless little army quite incapable of defending him, and he was finally captured and 1867 shot. Thus the Mexican Expedition came to a dismal end. For Napoleon it was a serious disaster, because his armies were beaten, his finances were exhausted by the heavy strain of a war across the Atlantic, and his prestige in Europe was greatly lowered by his failure. He had lost much, and at the same time he had gained neither territory nor the support of the Catholics in whose interest he began the war.

His last war was the Franco-Prussian War, but the story of that war belongs more properly to the history of Germany than France and will be told later.

D. Change to a liberal empire

It has already been stated that the internal history of the Second Empire was divided into two periods; a period of absolutism and a period of change to a liberal empire. This change began with concessions made to the Liberals in the years 1859–1860. An amnesty was declared for all those who had opposed the *coup d'état* of 1851. At the same time the Assembly was allowed to prepare an annual address in reply to the speech from the throne and to publish a stenographic report of their proceedings. Though these were not very great concessions, they were sufficient to reawaken political life in France. The opposition to the government began to show itself and parties began to form. People once more took an interest in politics. A few years later, still further concessions were made, but they 1867 were rendered practically worthless by restrictions, and consequently the opponents of the government were not satisfied. Two years later the elections showed a growing and powerful 1869 opposition to the autocratic empire. Napoleon felt unable to resist it. His health was bad and he was not expected to live long. A so-called Third Party formed which was willing to allow the Bonapartes to retain the crown, if they would make the Empire fully democratic. Napoleon yielded to this party. 1870 Their leader, Ollivier, was made prime minister, and a constitution was drafted which gave to France a parliamentary government with the Bonapartes as nominal sovereigns. It looked as if the problems of France were solved. Apparently Napoleon had successfully shifted from the autocratic party that put him in power to the liberal party that opposed him. Unfortunately there was also a war party, led by Empress Eugénie and others, which pushed France into a disastrous war with Prussia during which the Second Empire was swept away. In order to understand this war it is necessary to study first the unification of Germany.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

After the stormy years of the Revolution of 1848 Frederick William IV of Prussia led a powerful reaction that did everything possible to suppress liberalism. For several years he was successful in stifling all tendencies toward democracy, and then was struck down by an attack of insanity. It was impossible for him to conduct the government any longer and his brother William was made regent. A few years later the insane king died and William ascended the throne as William I of Prussia. It was one of the peculiar paradoxes of history that William I regarded himself as an old man — a man whose work was done — just because he was sixty years of age. As a matter of fact he still had before him twenty-seven more years of life and a career as glorious in its achievements as that of any king of Prussia. William I had a remarkable personality. He was by nature a conservative. In political beliefs he was a strong supporter of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Since most of his life had been spent in the army, he was primarily a military man. During his reign the Prussian army developed a power and efficiency far greater than any it had ever known. One of his greatest abilities was the power to detect great capacities in other men. It was because of the wisdom with which he selected his ministers and officials that his country made such great progress under his rule. This ability was rendered still more valuable by the spirit of devotion with which he supported the men who served him. Though he sometimes disagreed with them strongly, he never deserted them. In policy William discarded his brother's submissiveness to Austria. His main purpose was to seek the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. This aim he announced to the people of Germany in a manifesto issued in the same year as his coronation. In order to accomplish this ideal he dismissed his

I. William I (1861–1888)

1857

A. Accession, 1861

B. Personality

C. Policy

Dec. 20, 1861

brother's ministers and embarked upon a progressive program in which the first important action was the reform of the Prussian army.

II. Army reform
A. Need

A law enacted at the close of the Napoleonic Wars had established a system of compulsory, universal military service in Prussia. All men nineteen years of age and over were required to render three years of active service, then two years of service in the reserve and finally fourteen years of service in the *Landwehr*. During the years that followed, this system had not functioned very well, chiefly because the government did not have funds enough to support such a large army. Consequently many of those eligible were not called to service and others evaded it, so that the strength of the army was far below the maximum possible. When the army was mobilized during the Austro-Sardinian War, 1859, this weakness was clearly evident. To remedy this situation was the first care of William I.

B. Plan

As his assistants in the enterprise he called General von Moltke to be chief of the general staff and Albrecht von Roon to be minister of war. Both were men of superlative abilities which fully qualified them for their positions. Von Roon recommended that the law be changed so as to require military service of all those sixteen years of age or over. Also he suggested that the period of service in the reserve should be doubled. By these changes, and a strict enforcement of universal service, Prussia would gain a much larger and more efficient army. In order to carry out this program it was necessary to have money. It was a tradition of the Prussian government that all matters relating to the army should be decided by the king, and ordinarily the parliament voted without question whatever funds he requested for its maintenance.

C. Conflict

However, at the time that von Roon made his proposals the situation happened to be peculiar. There had just arisen in the parliament a new Party of Progress. This party was anxious to make the constitution of the state more democratic. In the need of the king for money to improve the army they saw a means of exerting pressure upon him and gaining their demands. They planned to gain constitutional concessions in return for the grant of funds. When the new army budget was first proposed to the parliament it was promptly approved for a period of a little more than a year. The Progress Party expected that William would then make the concessions which they wanted. But the concessions were not made. Instead the grant was treated as a permanent one and a thorough reorganization of the army was begun. The parliament felt aggrieved and at the end of the year they refused to vote further funds. The result was a deadlock. William was unable to find a ministry that could control the deputies and he was on the point of abdicating when he called to his aid Count Otto von Bismarck. Feb. 10, 1860 1862

III. Bismarck A. Life

Bismarck was a Junker; that is, a member of the conservative landlord class. He had a magnificent physique and a spirit so untamed that in his youth he was called the "mad Bismarck." From his early manhood he had been in the diplomatic service of Prussia. His first important appointment was envoy to the diet at Frankfort. When he went there he was a friend of Austria, but he found the Austrian envoys so domineering and discourteous that he soon became an enemy of their country. He insulted them and they insulted him. After several years he was made ambassador to Russia. Then he went to Paris and from there he was called to be minister-president in Berlin. Aug., 1851 1859 1862

B. Policy

As head of the Prussian ministry Bismarck proved to be one of the most astute diplomats that Europe had ever known. This was largely because he veiled his real aims beneath a cloak of obscurity that deceived the rest of the world.

1. Aims

There were two aims which were the most important features of his policy in this part of his career. The first was to correct the boundaries of Prussia. At that time Prussia had a long, straggling boundary, and the territory on the Rhine was completely separated from the main portion of the country. Bismarck intended to annex land so as to straighten this boundary and connect all parts of the nation. His second aim was to unify Germany under the leadership of Prussia. To accomplish these aims he adopted a variety of methods.

2. Methods

One method was to develop a strong army. As he expressed it in a famous speech made soon after he became minister-president, "The unity of Germany is to be brought about not by speeches, nor by votes of majorities, but by blood and iron." From this speech his policy gained the name of the policy of blood and iron. Another method which he considered essential to the realization of his aims was the expulsion of Austria from the political affairs of the German Confederation. After the defeat of Austria in the Austro-Sardinian War the prestige of the Hapsburg Empire had sunk to a low ebb, and Bismarck did not hesitate to tell the Austrians bluntly that they should get out of Germany. A third method was to cultivate the friendship of Russia. A good opportunity to do this came when a revolution broke out in Poland and Bismarck 1863 supported the tsar in suppressing it. Still other methods which he stressed were to establish a strong monarchy in Prussia, to prepare thoroughly for war with countries that obstructed his policy, and to secure a good pretext for war so that the blame would be on the other country.

C. Domineering treatment of Prussia

Such in general was Bismarck's policy. When he first became head of the Prussian ministry its accomplishment seemed all but impossible. His first great task was to conquer the resistance in the Prussian parliament. This he did by a combination of domineering arrogance and good luck. Since he had in his possession a strong army and a good income he defied the parliament and governed without a budget. He declared that when the two houses of parliament disagreed, as they happened to do just then, that it was legitimate for the government to take charge. He stifled the press, he appointed local officials who would support him and removed those who opposed him. He bullied the deputies and he used the army to suppress opposition. Still the Progress Party continued to oppose him and to retain a majority in the lower house. It is doubtful whether with all his forcefulness he could have succeeded had it not been that fate threw in his way an opportunity to make himself supreme and he was clever enough to use it. This opportunity was that thorny old problem of European diplomacy — the Schleswig-Holstein question. With this as a start Bismarck managed to involve Prussia in a series of brief wars that fired the imagination of the German people, aroused their patriotic admiration for his achievements and won public support away from the side of the Progress Party.

IV. Danish War, 1864
A. Causes

As narrated above, the Concert of Europe had thought that the Schleswig-Holstein question was settled when they signed the Treaty of London authorizing the heir to the Danish crown to inherit the two duchies as well. 1852 However, the matter proved to be far from settled. King Frederick VII of Denmark was encouraged by the treaty to undertake a policy of Danification in the duchies; that is, the use of various methods to make the Germans change their German language and customs for Danish. This irritated the Germans and aroused a spirit of revolt. Shortly before he died he annexed Schleswig to Denmark and 1863 gave home rule to Holstein. This stirred the inhabitants of the two duchies to rebellion, because they had always asserted that Schleswig and Holstein could not be separated. They appealed to the German Confederation for support and the Confederation sent in an army which occupied Holstein. Bismarck saw in the disturbed situation an opportunity to intervene in order to acquire some valuable territory for Prussia. He was particularly anxious to secure the excellent harbor of Kiel. In order to have a good pretext for intervening he persuaded Austria that to allow the German Confederation to achieve a triumph in the duchies would be to allow democracy to gain a great victory. Consequently they should step in to stop the "dangerous" spread of German liberalism. Austria really had no vital interest in the Schleswig-Holstein question, but the emperor was deceived by Bismarck's arguments.

B. Events

The two great nations of Austria and Prussia attacked Denmark. Feb. 1, 1864 After several months of fighting the Danes were completely defeated and made a treaty by which the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein Oct. 30, 1864 and Lauenburg were handed over to Austria and Prussia to dispose of as they wished. This, however, was not easy. The two nations disagreed, because Prussia secretly wanted to annex the duchies and Austria wanted to give them to the German claimant, Prince Frederick of Augustenburg. Only after complicated negotiations did they reach the agreement that Prussia 1865 should buy Lauenburg and govern Schleswig, while Austria was given the government of Holstein. It was not a satisfactory arrangement, and both nations regarded it as merely a way of postponing trouble until they were better prepared for war.

V. Austro-Prussian War, 1866
A. Preparations

Bismarck spent the next few months in active preparations for the conflict with Austria which ever since his experience at Frankfort he had regarded as inevitable. The army was ready. Their excellent performance in the Danish War showed that. Russia's friendship could be relied upon. An assurance of neutrality was gained from Napoleon III by the vague promise that after the two nations were exhausted he would be called upon to mediate and be rewarded with a piece of Rhine territory. An alliance was easily made with Italy, and all that Bismarck needed in addition was a good pretext which would throw the blame for the war upon Austria. This pretext he found in the fact that Austria was encouraging propaganda in Schleswig supporting the claims of Prince Frederick to the two duchies. Prussia protested that this was a hostile act violating the treaty between them. Prussian troops marched into Holstein. Austria appealed to the German Confederation and persuaded the diet to mobilize its forces against Prussia. Thus Austria drew the small states of Germany to her side and Prussia found herself at war with both Austria and the German Confederation. Prussia declared the Confederation dissolved and proposed a new form of organization excluding Austria.

B. Events

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866, which followed, was waged in four areas. In northern Germany Prussia easily defeated the small states who sided with Austria. In southern Germany, below the Main river, Prussia was also successful. In Italy the Italian army was completely defeated by Austria, largely because of the incompetence of its commander. In Bohemia the main Prussian army under General von Moltke advanced upon the Austrians. The Austrian commander was not familiar with the country, he did not want the command, and his excellent plan of campaign was ruined by the disobedience of his generals. Moreover, the Prussians mobilized far more speedily, and were armed with a new type of gun called the needle gun which fired three times as rapidly as the Austrian musket. Consequently, when the two armies met at the battle of Sadowa (also called the battle of Königgrätz) the

Prussians won a complete victory. King William was so elated by success that he wanted to continue the war. Bismarck, on the other hand, wisely decided that there was nothing to be gained by further fighting. The main purpose — driving Austria from Germany — had been achieved. Henceforth more was to be gained by offering Austria generous terms and cultivating her friendship. With the aid of the crown prince he persuaded the king to adopt this policy and the war came to an end. What Europe had expected to be a long and exhausting war proved to be a short and decisive conflict. By the Treaty of Prague, Austria agreed to pay an indemnity, to withdraw from Germany, to allow Prussia to organize the states north of the Main into a new confederation, and to permit Prussia to annex many of the German states, including Schleswig-Holstein. It was also agreed that the states south of the Main should organize a union of their own. The annexations were made with little difficulty, because the majority of the people favored union with Prussia. One of the most important results of the war was that the Progress Party lost its majority in Prussia, and the parliament passed an Act of Indemnity, sanctioning the conduct of the government during the past few years in governing without a budget. Bismarck's triumph in war had helped him win the victory in the conflict with parliament with which his ministry began.

Aug. 23, 1866

C. Results

1. Treaty of Prague

2. Victory over Progress Party

A new organization of the German states north of the Main was established, called the North German Confederation. The constitution was largely the work of Bismarck. It provided for a strongly centralized nation. This nation was headed by a president to whom was given a large amount of power. The president was always to be the King of Prussia. In his hands were placed most of the important powers of government, such as the choice of the ministry. With him was associated a parliament composed of two houses. The upper house was called the *Bundesrat*, and consisted of representatives from the states. The lower house, called the *Reichstag*, was composed of one representative for every 100,000 people and was elected by universal suffrage. The *Bundesrat* was given by far the most power, but the *Reichstag* proved to be the most

VI. North German Confederation

A. Constitution, July 1, 1867

B. President

C. Parliament

important body, because its actions were more representative of public opinion. The government was always anxious to gain the support of the *Reichstag*, because then they knew they had the public on their side. For a long time the majority always supported Bismarck. The south German states failed to form any union of their own. Instead they made treaties with the North German Confederation that bound them closely together. During the next four years Germany developed from a conglomeration of states into a nation-state. This process reached completion in a war with France called the Franco-Prussian War.

D. South German states

VII. Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871
A. Causes
1. French demand for compensation

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 was caused first of all by the demand of Napoleon III for territory to compensate him for the gains made by Prussia. He had expected, as Bismarck had suggested, that the Austro-Prussian War would be so long and exhausting that at its close France would be in a position to dictate the terms of peace and seize some land for herself. He found himself sadly mistaken, and to recover his prestige he tried to gain the addition of Luxembourg to France. In this he was blocked by Bismarck's refusal to permit it. France in turn tried to block Bismarck's efforts to unite the south German states with the North German Confederation. This caused considerable bad feeling. The other cause for war was the quarrel over the Spanish Succession. The Queen of Spain had been forced to abdicate by a revolution, and the throne was offered to Leopold, a relative of William I of Prussia. Bismarck encouraged the Spanish to make the offer, but the French opposed it, because they were afraid it would mean a threatening alliance of Prussia and Spain. Three times Leopold was asked to take the throne and the third time he accepted. Again France protested so vigorously that Leopold soon withdrew his acceptance. This diplomatic victory so elated the French war party that they even instructed their minister to demand of William I an assurance that the candidacy of Leopold would never be renewed. Their request angered William so much that he refused to discuss the matter further with the French envoy. He happened to be staying at Ems. From there he sent a telegram to Bismarck, known

2. Spanish succession

July 19, 1870

as the Ems telegram, telling of what had occurred. Bismarck cleverly abbreviated it so as to make it appear that William had insulted the French envoy by refusing to receive him again to discuss any matter, and that the French envoy had insulted William by making an unbearable demand. The telegram was published and sent to all German diplomatic officials. Public opinion was aroused in both France and Germany, as Bismarck intended it should. The French were enraged so much that the war party gained control and forced the government to declare war. Bismarck had played the game of diplomacy so astutely that everybody thought France was to blame for starting the war. At the same time France was without a single ally.

3. Ems telegram

In Germany the enthusiasm for the war was intense, and the southern states, instead of joining France as Napoleon III had expected they would, rallied around Prussia. Prussia was all ready for war. The General Staff had made a thorough study of the Rhine country and drawn up a complete plan of campaign. The plans for mobilization had been made so carefully that it was only necessary to send one message, " The army is to be mobilized according to plan," and in two weeks a million men were under arms. The French army on the other hand mobilized with such slowness and confusion that officers could not find their troops, and large numbers of soldiers were without equipment. The world was taught the importance of rapid and efficient mobilization. The result was a series of hard-fought but decisive victories for the German armies. The main French army retired to Metz, where it was besieged. Another army was gathered together by Napoleon and Marshal MacMahon, but defeated soon afterwards at Sedan. During the battle the emperor was captured. Then the victorious German armies marched upon Paris and laid siege to the city. After the defeat at Sedan and the capture of the emperor France was declared a republic, and the Paris deputies formed a Government of National Defense that took charge of the nation. One section of this provisional government stayed in Paris and conducted the defense of the city. The other section, led by Gambetta, established itself at Bordeaux and organized

B. Defeat of the French

Sept. 2, 1870

Sept. 19, 1870

Sept. 4, 1870

C. Republic and government of national defense armies for the relief of the capital. Bismarck offered them peace upon condition that they cede territory to Germany, only to have his offer indignantly rejected. Rather than do that they were determined to fight to the bitter end. Their efforts were heroic but in vain. In the last part of December the bombardment of Paris began, and food became so scarce that rats sold for ten cents apiece. Finally the city was forced to surrender, and further resistance was useless. An armistice was declared so that an assembly might be elected to take charge of the government and negotiate the terms of peace. This assembly agreed to the Treaty of Frankfort, by which Alsace and Lorraine were given to Germany and France promised to pay an indemnity of one billion dollars. France was left with a bitter hatred for Germany. She justly felt that she had not been beaten in the war, but outwitted and outgeneraled. One resolve was left in the hearts of the French people — to be so well prepared the next time that they could defeat the Germans and win back Alsace-Lorraine.

Jan. 24, 1871

D. Treaty of Frankfort, May 10, 1871

Meanwhile, during the last days of the siege of Paris, Bismarck had concluded treaties with the German states by which they agreed to enter the North German Confederation. Bavaria was the most independent and had to be bought by important concessions. A new constitution, little different from that of the North German Confederation, was adopted, and the name of the union was changed to the German Empire. On January 18, 1871, William I was proclaimed German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles. With due regard for the divine right of kings he placed the crown on his head with his own hands. At last Germany had attained unity under the leadership of Prussia, and Bismarck was made chancellor.

VIII. Founding of German Empire, Jan. 18, 1871

Dec. 30, 1870

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

Sept. 4, 1870

The republic which was born in France during the agony of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was the Third French Republic. Its history from that time until the outbreak of the World War in 1914 was marked by several important episodes and developments, of which the first was the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune was an insurrection of Paris against the national government. It was called the Commune not because it was communistic, but because *commune* is the French word for a city government. The first cause for the Commune was a Monarchist victory. When the National Assembly was elected to take charge of the government, most of the people voted for the restoration of peace and against the continuation of the war. This meant that the majority of the deputies were Monarchists, because the Monarchists advocated peace. Naturally the Republicans, who were especially strong in Paris, distrusted a Monarchist assembly. This suspicious attitude of the Republicans, especially in Paris, was a second cause for the Commune. The provisional government gave them plenty of ground for suspicion, because the National Assembly established itself at Versailles, not at Paris, and refused to make a formal declaration of the Republic. To this cause was added still a third — the harsh treatment of Paris by the Assembly. For example, a law established during the siege, permitting people to postpone payment of their debts, was repealed, and they were ordered to pay them within forty-eight hours. To many of them this meant disaster. Besides, most of the men had been enrolled in the National Guard during the siege, and for many their entire income consisted of the daily pittance which they were paid for this service. The Assembly stopped the payment of this wage, except in the case of the indigent, with results that can be easily imagined. The con-

I. Paris Commune

A. Causes

Feb., 1871

sequence of all these measures was the accumulation of a vast amount of discontent, which was exploited by a group of radicals to organize an insurrection against the National Assembly. They seized control of Paris, organized a government called the Paris Commune, and began a rebellion against the national government. March 10, 1871

B. Program

The Communists had no united program. They were a group of malcontents, adventurers, discharged soldiers, Socialists, and others, who advocated widely varying principles. In general they regarded themselves as the successors of the First Republic. They wanted France to be a decentralized nation of federated communes, and encouraged similar revolts in other cities, all of which failed. The red flag was adopted as their emblem, and some socialistic ideas were advanced. The provisional government in Versailles, after a half-hearted attempt to negotiate with the Commune, decided to suppress it without mercy. A large army was organized, and Paris was besieged for a second time. For nearly two months there was a bitter contest which proved again the old truth that of all wars civil wars are the most bloody. No quarter was given. People found with arms in their hands were often shot without trial. Eventually the Commune was suppressed, but only after thousands had been killed, thousands more imprisoned, and several famous buildings, including the Tuileries, destroyed. For years afterwards the prosecutions of Communists continued.

C. Suppression

April 2–May 21, 1871

II. Restoration of peace and prosperity

The second important development in the history of the Third Republic was the restoration of peace and prosperity. The National Assembly chose as "head of the executive government" a famous journalist, historian and Orleanist named Thiers. He had begun his public career as a leader in the Revolution of 1830, and later was one of the prime ministers under Louis Philippe. Because of his good reputation the people had more confidence in him than in any other man. Their confidence was not misplaced. He wisely adopted a policy of putting aside partisan politics and devoting himself to the problem of aiding France to recover from the effects of the war. By the Treaty of Frankfort Germany had imposed upon France an enormous indemnity of five thousand million francs

A. Thiers

B. Payment of indemnity

to be paid in three years, and besides France was obligated to support an army of occupation to guarantee payment. To raise the money two loans were issued which were oversubscribed many times. Six months before the allotted time had expired the indemnity was paid. Such enterprise and wealth surprised the world and did much to restore French credit. Another important achievement of the government of Thiers was the reorganization of the army on the German model. Military service was made universal and compulsory. All men, with certain exemptions on the basis of occupation, were required to serve for a sequence of four periods; namely, active service in the standing army, reserve in the same, active service in the militia, and finally reserve service in the same. This made the French army larger and more efficient than ever. France had learned the lesson of militarism only too well.

Sept., 1873

C. Reorganization of the army

July, 1872

III. Monarchist movement

A. The question

Perhaps the most important feature of the history of the Third Republic was the Monarchist movement. At first it was by no means certain whether the government of France should be a republic or a monarchy. This was a question which had to be settled by a long struggle between the partisans of the two forms. As already observed, the Paris Commune was caused largely by the suspicion of the Republicans that the National Assembly was planning to establish a monarchy. Subsequent elections in the summer of that year showed that the majority of the voters of France wanted a republic. Soon afterwards the Assembly passed a law giving to Thiers the title "President of the Republic," and declaring that one of the functions of the Assembly was to draw up a constitution. But then they refused to go ahead with the task or to give way to a constitutional assembly. This was because the Monarchists were unwilling to establish a republic, as they knew public opinion demanded, and they hoped that during a delay events might turn in their favor so they could erect a monarchy. Instead, events turned against them. Thiers openly took his stand on the side of a republic, because he felt that his office obligated him to do so. However, by that time the indemnity was paid, he was no longer needed, and so the Assembly forced him to resign. In his place they elected Marshal MacMahon,

July, 1871

Aug. 31, 1871

Nov. 13, 1872

May 24, 1873

the leading general in the Franco-Prussian War and a prominent Monarchist.

B. Coalition of Legitimists and Orleanists

The chief weakness of the Monarchists was the fact that they were divided into three parties: Legitimists, Orleanists and Imperialists. Each tended to fight against the others in order to put its own claimant on the throne. However, the Legitimists and Orleanists made an alliance based on the agreement that the throne should be given to Henry of Bourbon, the Legitimist heir, and since he had no direct heirs, it should pass on his death to the Orleanist candidate. This compromise greatly increased their strength, and for a time it looked as if a monarchy might soon be established. Then to the disappointment of the Monarchists this compromise was wrecked by the declaration of Henry that France must accept the white flag of the Bourbons, if he became king. The Orleanists, as well as the majority of the French, were devoted to the tricolor and refused to desert it. With that Henry said he would no longer be a candidate for the throne. This ruined the hopes of the Monarchists, and once more they divided, each to support his own claimant.

Sept. 27, 1873

C. Organic Laws

After a year or more of strife the Assembly realized that the work of drafting a constitution could not be longer postponed, because the government needed something to give it permanency. Consequently they passed a series of Organic Laws which formed the basis of the government of the Third Republic. Though these laws were far from being a complete constitution, they at least established something stable, and were supplemented later by other laws. After this the question shifted from whether France should be a republic to whether it should be a fully parliamentary republic or a conservative one. MacMahon took the latter position, and did everything in his power to gain the election of an Assembly that would support it, but the election went against him. Rather than yield he resigned, and Grévy, a strong Republican, was made president.

1875

D. Conflict between a parliamentary and a conservative republic

Jan. 30, 1879

E. Constitution

Soon after the election of Grévy a series of laws were passed which, together with the Organic Laws and various precedents, fixed the final form of the government of the Third Republic. Though this combination of laws was not officially called a constitution, it was equivalent to one. At the head was a president elected by the Assembly for a term of seven years. His powers were almost entirely confined to presiding over important ceremonies. The real power was vested in the Assembly which was composed of two houses: a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Senate did little more than approve or veto the acts of the Chamber. The Chamber controlled the ministry, and whenever the ministers failed to gain a majority of its members on any vote they resigned. The president then selected a new ministry that could command a majority. The Assembly differed from the parliament of England in that its members were not divided into two great parties, but into many parties, so that one alone was too small to form a majority. Consequently they joined in coalitions known as blocs. These blocs were constantly changing, and thus the ministries were usually short-lived. This was known as the multiple party or bloc system. The Assembly was elected by universal, manhood suffrage. Another important feature of the government was liberty of the press and of public meeting. Thus the Third Republic acquired a fully parliamentary government which still exists at the present day.

F. Boulanger crisis

Though the Republicans gained a large majority in the Assembly, the Monarchists still continued to hope and strive for a change, until an episode occurred which caused the collapse of the movement. This episode was the Boulanger crisis. Boulanger was a prominent general who served for a time as minister of war. His most pronounced characteristic was that everything he did was spectacular. This of course made him popular, and his popularity was increased by the fact that he led the movement for revenge on Germany. Gradually there gathered around him a personal following of assorted politicians, including many Monarchists, who stood mainly for a revision of the constitution so as to abolish the parliamentary system. The aim of the movement was to put Boulanger in power, and the most peculiar thing about it was that its leaders refused to consider a *coup d'état*. Instead they tried the scheme of having the general elected to the Assembly from as many districts as possible. The Boulangists gathered such strength that the Assembly became seriously alarmed. They changed the electoral law so that the same man could not be elected from more than one district, and summoned Boulanger 1889 to appear before the Senate for trial. Then his courage failed him, and in spite of many a proud boast he had made, he fled to Belgium. With that the movement collapsed and two years later the disheartened general committed suicide. 1891 The Boulanger crisis was important, because it marked the end of any real danger to the Republic from the Monarchists. Nevertheless the various Monarchist parties still continued to exist and to support their various claimants to the throne of France.

IV. Clericalism

Another movement that influenced profoundly the history of the Third Republic was clericalism. Clericalism was a movement to increase the control of the Roman Catholic Church over politics, education and other activities.

A. Background

In order to understand it, it is necessary to review its background. During the Middle Ages there was a strong movement in France against the domination of the pope. It aimed to throw off his administrative authority and keep the control of the French church in the hands of the French. This was called Gallicanism, and by the beginning of the Reformation 1516 it was practically triumphant. Its victory was confirmed in the first years of the nineteenth century by the Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and the pope, by which the state agreed to support the church, but in return was given the right to nominate the clergy. Then a reaction set in which was known as ultramontanism. It stood for the complete supremacy of the pope, and made great gains during the reign of Charles X. 1824–1830 It was part of a general Catholic revival that went on throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. Under the Second Republic it was so powerful that it induced Louis Napoleon to defend the pope against Italian Republicans at the same time that he was president of a French republic. Ultramontanism imparted a great deal of energy to clericalism, but the majority of the French people and clergy were still attached to Gallicanism. The clerical party supported Napoleon III, and after the Third Republic was established they were strong Monarchists. During the conflict under MacMahon for and against a conservative republic, Gambetta, an ardent Republican, gave his followers a war-cry when he exclaimed, "Clericalism, that is the enemy!"

B. Conflict over education

1850

1880–1881

1880

The chief conflict between clericalism and the Third Republic came over the question of education. During the Second Republic a plan for free and compulsory state education was proposed, but was so unpopular that instead the Assembly passed the Education Law, which removed state control and established complete freedom for private individuals to maintain schools. The result was that almost all the primary and secondary schools fell into the hands of Catholic societies or orders, known as congregations, and by the continued exercise of this control they came to feel that the monopoly of education belonged to them. When the Republicans discovered in the days of the Third Republic that clericalism was their enemy, they decided to strike a blow at this enemy by taking away the control of education from the church. After Grévy was elected president, a complete system of free, compulsory, primary state education with lay teachers was established. At the same time laws were passed to hamper the church schools. Catholic universities were deprived of the name university and of the right to grant degrees. The Jesuits were dissolved, and all teaching orders were required to gain authorization from the government or suffer the same fate. This meant that the Catholic schools were made subject to state control. The Clericals did not yield tamely. The result was a bitter rivalry between the church and state to provide the best system of education, and in many cases the church was triumphant.

C. Dreyfus Affair

1894–1895

As the years passed and it became evident that the hopes of the Monarchists were small, the Clericals became reconciled to the existence of the Republic and finally the majority of the bishops declared their fidelity to it. However, the Clericals still continued to constitute a party of opposition and this opposition became serious during an episode known as the Dreyfus Affair. This episode began with the discovery that someone had been revealing army secrets to the Germans. A Jewish army officer named Dreyfus was accused, condemned after a trial in which he was not even shown all the evidence against him, publicly disgraced, and imprisoned on Devil's Island, a penal colony so atrociously managed that no prisoner sent there ever lived more than a few years. Fortunately for Dreyfus it happened that Colonel Picquart, one of the secret service officers, became interested in the case, and quietly set to work to collect all the evidence he could find. After several months of very skillful work he brought forth good evidence to show that 1896 Dreyfus was innocent, that another officer was guilty, and that some of the documents used to condemn Dreyfus were forgeries. Zola, one of the noted novelists of the time, wrote a defense of Jan. 13, 1898 Dreyfus called "I accuse" in which he accused the military courts of corruption. The sensational features of the case attracted public attention and the excitement grew. The Catholics, many army officers and the Monarchists sided against Dreyfus; the Republicans, Protestants and radicals of all kinds sided with him. The Dreyfus Affair became a political issue which each side used as a basis for charges against their opponents. For a time the military authorities refused to reopen the case and punished Picquart and others who tried 1898 to help Dreyfus. But finally public opinion became so strong in his favor that he was given a new trial and his sentence re- 1899 duced. Then to quiet affairs the government pardoned him 1899–1900 and all connected with the affair. Still the agitation continued until he was declared innocent, restored to his rank, and hon- 1906 ored with membership in the Legion of Honor. Dreyfus had triumphed, and with him the Republican party. The importance of the affair was that it created a bitter hostility between the contending parties. The victors sought revenge on their opponents. The army was reformed and purged of anti-Republicans. Also, another attack was made on clericalism.

D. Law of Associations

The attack took the form of an assault upon the church schools. Many of the teaching orders had failed to obtain authorization from the state, so a new law was passed called the Law of Associations. This required all religious orders to July 1, 1901 obtain authorization from the state within three months. Less than half of them complied. Meanwhile a new minister came into power who interpreted the law not as a means of regulation — the intention of those who drafted it — but as a means of suppression. Thousands of religious houses were dissolved, often amid scenes of violence. The result was that many of the church schools had to be abandoned, because they depended upon these religious orders for their supply of teachers. Finally the government ordered all clerical schools closed and their property confiscated. 1904

E. Separation of church and state

The government did not stop with the suppression of unauthorized religious orders. It happened that at about the same time that the ministry changed in France, a new pope was elected who took a hostile attitude toward the Third Republic. There were many causes of friction, of which the worst was the claim by the pope that he had the right to approve or reject nominees by the state to French bishoprics. Diplomatic relations were broken off, and at last a law was passed aiming to separate church and state. (Dec. 9, 1905) By this law the Concordat made by Napoleon was abrogated, the state relinquished all support of the clergy or rights over their appointment, and the property of the church was confiscated with a special arrangement by which the church buildings might be used for religious worship. Most of the laymen and bishops were willing to accept the new arrangement, but the pope forbade them to do so, and the consequence was a deadlock for over a year. Then a new law was passed which retained most of the features of the first law, (Jan. 2, 1907) except that it provided that the churches might be used for worship free of charge, if contracts were made by the clergy for that purpose with the mayors. All other church buildings were seized by the state and turned to other uses. On the whole the French people were satisfied with this arrangement, and clericalism ceased to be a serious factor in French politics.

V. Economic progress

After the establishment of the Third Republic France made remarkable economic progress. This progress was especially noticeable in industry. For twenty years after the Franco-Prussian War industry was at a standstill, then it began to prosper, and after a short time it was in a flourishing condition. The manufacture of iron, steel, cotton and articles of luxury made the greatest growth.

A. Industry

B. Colonial expansion

A second field of progress was colonial expansion. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 France had lost almost all of the great colonial empire which she had once possessed. Then under Louis Philippe she conquered Algeria in Africa, and that began a movement of expansion in which the Third Republic acquired huge colonial territories. The expansion took place chiefly in Northwest Africa — most of which was annexed — in Southeastern Asia, and in the islands of the Indian Ocean. The most valuable colonies acquired were Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, because there the climate was most suitable to colonization and the commercial advantages were greatest. By 1914 France had a colonial empire eleven times as large as her own area and second in extent only to that of Great Britain.

VI. Foreign policy

While the increase in colonies was a commercial advantage, it involved France in diplomatic difficulties. Other countries were also seeking colonies, and of these Germany and Great Britain were most offended by the expansion of France. In more than one area friction developed. This antagonism was complicated by the fact that in Europe itself France's relations with Germany were decidedly unfriendly after the Franco-Prussian War, and as the years went by the diplomatic situation became more and more tense. The history of these diplomatic relations belongs to the background of the World War and will be discussed more fully in that connection.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE GROWTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
(1871–1914)

I. Rulers
A. William I (1871–1888)
1888
B. Frederick III (March 9–June 15, 1888)
C. William II (1888–1918)
1. Personality

During the period which followed the Franco-Prussian War the newly founded German Empire experienced a most remarkable growth in many fields, particularly in economic prosperity, and administrative development. Three emperors ruled over the German Empire, of whom the first was the aged and highly honored William I. In general he was quite content to reign while he allowed the chancellor, Bismarck, to rule, and in this he was wise, because Bismarck showed himself fully as capable of guiding the destinies of the Empire as of founding it. One of the chancellor's most admirable qualities was his willingness to adopt new ideas when he found that circumstances required it, and in some cases these new ideas were principles which he had previously opposed. When William I died, he was followed by his son Frederick III, who was unfortunately afflicted with cancer and only lived a few months after his coronation. He was then succeeded by his son William II. William II was one of the most colorful personalities of recent times. A boundless energy kept him constantly active in all kinds of enterprises. He devoted himself most assiduously to the task of ruling Germany. Unfortunately he was also the victim of conceit, which was partially a result of his belief in the doctrine that he ruled by divine right. As an orator he had a most remarkable ability for coining striking phrases. They were often inaccurate, often tactless to the point of offensiveness, but they were always impressive. Many of them were quoted again and again; as, for instance, his declaration that Germany must have "a place in the sun." As a monarch he was domineering, and the Germans soon found that the best, if not the only way to advancement in the Empire was by flattery and abject submission to the emperor. This domineering qual-

2. Quarrel with Bismarck

ity soon involved him in a quarrel with Bismarck. It was impossible for two such masterful men to share the control of Germany. They soon disagreed on the policies to be followed, and some of the officials, sensing the way the wind was blowing, took their affairs straight to the emperor. Bismarck demanded that in conformity with an old law all communications from subordinates to the emperor must be made through the chancellor. William peremptorily insisted that he repeal this regulation or resign, and Bismarck resigned — resigned so quickly that he had to refund eleven days of his salary; and the emperor was petty enough to take it. After his dismissal William made an attempt to change the internal policy of the state, but soon found it impossible, and reverted to the same policy as Bismarck had used.

March 20, 1890

II. Constitution

The constitution under which Germany was ruled was little different from that of the North German Confederation. The emperor, or kaiser, was the head of the Empire. The only person eligible for this office was the King of Prussia. He appointed the chancellor on his own authority, and could retain him as long as he wished, regardless of whether he held a majority in the parliament. Though the emperor could not veto the bills passed by the parliament, he had supreme authority for two reasons; first, he was commander-in-chief of the army, which was by far the most important institution in the state, and, second, he was practically absolute in Prussia. Since Prussia dominated the Empire in many ways, this meant that as King of Prussia he indirectly dominated the Empire.

A. Emperor

B. *Bundesrat*

The parliament was composed of two houses; the *Bundesrat* and the *Reichstag*. The *Bundesrat* was the only one which was given any real power. It consisted of deputies appointed by the states in accordance with their size; for example, Prussia had seventeen. These deputies voted in accordance with the instructions of the state that appointed them. Since all but three of the states were monarchical, the result was that the *Bundesrat* was a conservative body. The *Reichstag* was composed of representatives from the people elected by universal suffrage. One representative was elected by each electoral district. At first the districts were equally divided into groups of

C. *Reichstag*

100,000 people, but as time went on the population shifted and the districts became seriously disproportionate in size. Though the *Reichstag* had only a suspensive veto on the actions of the *Bundesrat,* it was an important body because it showed how public opinion stood, and it could criticize the government. The representatives were divided into a number of groups following the bloc system, similar to that of France. Of these groups only one was an organized political party — the Social Democrats. While this constitution was far from democratic, the German people made little protest against it, because the success achieved by Germany in the first forty years of her history seemed to prove that such a form of government was the best.

III. Administrative reforms

A. Centralization

The great progress made by the German Empire was due largely to the administrative reforms sponsored by Bismarck in the first decade of its history. His chief aim in making these administrative reforms was to increase the centralization of Germany and so counteract the disintegrating influence of a long tradition of state autonomy. If Germany was not to fall apart again into the heterogeneous confederation type of state that existed in the first half of the nineteenth century, strong central institutions had to be established. One of these imperial institutions was a central railway bureau to unify the management of railways. Another was a unified system of coinage in which the coins were stamped with the significant words *Empire* and *Emperor*. An imperial bank also helped to centralize and stabilize the finances of the country. A postal system for the whole Empire was inaugurated and a metric system of weights and measures was established. New civil and criminal codes gave one law to the whole Empire. To all these highly valuable reforms was added a tariff policy of protectionism. There were several reasons why Bismarck adopted this policy. One was a financial panic at the beginning of the Empire. The payment of the huge indemnity by France, together with other causes, had raised German business enthusiasm to such a high pitch that there was an era of wild speculation. At the same time a world depression occurred and the natural result was a financial crash. To this economic mis-

B. Imperial institutions

1873

1873

1875

C. Policy of protectionism

1873

fortune was added the fact that the revenue was not large enough to support the government, and year after year the treasury showed a deficit. During the same decade Bismarck observed that France with a policy of protection was prosperous, while England with a new policy of free trade was apparently in a state of decay. He also became convinced that Germany to become rich must become industrialized. Consequently he decided that in order to increase revenue, to protect Germany from exploitation by foreign competition, and to promote industry, protectionism was the best policy. A law was 1879 passed which placed a high tariff on practically all articles, both agricultural and manufactured, which Germany was able to produce. Afterwards, in order not to injure trade with other nations, reciprocity treaties were negotiated by which the tariff was lowered in the case of any nation that accorded Germany the same benefit. On the whole the tariff was probably an advantage to Germany, but eventually it became an injury, because as the population increased the Empire became more and more a food-importing nation, and yet the tariff kept the price of food high without increasing agricultural production.

IV. *Kulturkampf*, 1871–1886

A. Definition

B. Causes

1. Catholic aggression

One of the most important episodes in the history of the German Empire was the *Kulturkampf*. The word means literally "civilization-war." In general it was a contest between the Catholics and the state. There were mainly two causes for the contest. The first was an aggressive movement by the Catholics, which was carried on in many of the countries of Europe. In Germany it made its greatest advance when the Prussian Constitution of 1850 gave complete freedom to the church. A few years later Pope Pius IX issued a *Syllabus of* 1864 *Errors,* which looked like an attack upon the state, because among the errors of the age he listed secular education and civil marriage. In the same year as the Franco-Prussian War he summoned the Vatican Council, which after a heated debate July 18, 1870 adopted the doctrine of papal infallibility; namely, that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra* on a matter of faith and morals he cannot err. During the war Italy took advantage of the weakness 1870 of France to seize Rome, so long protected by France for the pope. The pope appealed to Germany for aid to recover the city, and when Bismarck refused to give it, the Catholics formed the Center Party to bring political pressure to bear upon him. At the same time the Catholics who objected to the doctrine of papal infallibility organized the Old Catholic Church and called upon the state to assist them. To all these causes for friction between the government and the Catholics was added another cause for the *Kulturkampf:* the activities of the Catholics were antagonistic to Bismarck's policy of centralization. For example, in the eastern part of the Empire were large numbers of Poles who wanted to be free from German rule and resisted vigorously all attempts to Germanize them. In this resistance they were encouraged by the Catholics, largely because Prussia was predominantly a Protestant state. Bismarck became convinced that the Catholics must be subjected to the state, if he was going to weld Germany into a strongly centralized nation.

2. Bismarck's policy of centralization

C. Legislation

The first move of the state in retaliation to what it regarded as Catholic aggression was a series of laws sponsored by a new minister of public worship named Falk. They were commonly known as the May Laws because the most important of them were passed in May of three successive years. These laws aimed to take away from the church many powers, such as the control of education, and at the same time to establish state supervision of the church. The most important of the laws were those which banished the Jesuits, required the clergy to be educated in state schools, made civil marriage obligatory, compelled civil registration of births and deaths, and established state supervision of church schools.

1872

1873–1875

D. Enforcement

Enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws proved to be extremely difficult. The pope forbade Catholics to obey the laws. Thousands of them followed his injunction and the government was compelled to resort to various kinds of punishments such as fines, imprisonment and exile. Hundreds of schools and churches were closed, and still the refusal to obey the laws continued. Year by year the Center Party increased its strength until it had the largest number of representatives in the *Reichstag*. The government policy had failed.

1877

Fortunately for Bismarck events in the next two years made

E. Modification

1878

it possible for him to modify the laws without serious injury to the power of the state. A new pope was elected, Leo XIII, who was conciliatory, and began negotiations by which he supported the state in return for certain concessions. Falk resigned, and Bismarck could easily blame the policy upon him and abandon it. An alliance was made with the Catholic power of Austria, and in France the Clericals were defeated, so that the general danger from Catholic aggression diminished. Besides, Bismarck needed the support of the Center Party in order to suppress a new power that was rising in Germany — the power of socialism. For these reasons many of the May Laws were gradually repealed in the next few years, the enforcement of them was relaxed, and punishments were not inflicted so heavily. The final result was a compromise by which the church retained all its religious powers undiminished and the state acquired control of certain essentially secular activities. For example, the clergy were not required to be educated in state schools, and on the other hand the laws remained in force which required civil marriage, civil registration of births and deaths, and state supervision of education.

V. Economic progress

A. Industrial and agricultural revolution

One of the most glorious aspects of German history in the period of the Empire was the enormous economic progress made by the country. In this epoch there took place in Germany the industrial and agricultural revolution which had already played such an important part in the history of England, France and other countries. One important characteristic of the revolution was that Germany changed from an agricultural country to an industrial one. Agriculture was made more scientific and the amount of production was greatly increased, but manufacturing supplanted tilling of the soil as the occupation of the majority of the people. This opened the way to tremendous prosperity for Germany, because as an agricultural country the Empire could never have been prosperous; the soil was too poor. As an industrial state she was freed from this restriction. The factory, the railway and the steamship placed the resources and the markets of the world at her disposal, and the German people revealed a superior capacity for industrial activity. Another characteristic of the revolution was the growth of cities. During this period the population living in cities rose from thirty to sixty per cent at the same time that the total population of the country increased greatly. The Germans became experts in the planning and constructing of modern cities with broad streets, attractive buildings, beautiful parks and modern equipment. Another significant development was that the tide of emigration dropped very low while the numbers of people who immigrated into Germany as transient laborers rose high.

B. Forms

1. Mining

The enormous increase of industrial and commercial activity took various forms. One of the most important was mining. Germany possessed large deposits of the most important raw materials of the factory system — iron and coal. These were now developed as never before, not only by a larger amount of mining, but also by improved methods. For example, in Lorraine there were large quantities of iron which were regarded at the time when that district was annexed as worthless, because of the large percentage of sulphur content. A few years later a process was discovered for eliminating the sulphur, and (1878) the Lorraine iron mines took rank among the most valuable in the world. In the manufacture of iron and steel products Germany made such a great advance that finally her output exceeded (1910) that of all other countries. This was all the more remarkable because in 1870 production of this kind was much less than in the other large nations.

2. Chemistry and chemical products

The greatest progress was made in chemistry and chemical products. In this field of industry Germany was fortunate enough to possess valuable deposits of chemicals, and to these natural resources the Germans added an ability for scientific research and inventiveness unsurpassed by any other people. Industrial concerns maintained large laboratories purely for research, and the result was many important discoveries. By this inventive ability Germany acquired a monopoly of the manufacture of aniline dyes, which brought to the country a large revenue from other nations. In addition, other important chemical processes were devised for manufacturing valuable artificial substitutes for natural products.

3. Electrical equipment

In the manufacture of electrical equipment German factories took precedence over those of other countries.

Likewise a long list could be made of industrial products in which the Empire equaled or surpassed all competitors. One important consequence was a rapid increase in the volume of foreign trade, consisting in the importation of raw materials and food products and the exportation of manufactured articles. The tonnage of ships in the mercantile marine, which had relatively been insignificant in 1870, rose until in 1914 it was exceeded only by England.

4. Foreign trade

C. Causes

1. Natural capacity

There were many causes for this extraordinary economic progress, of which three may be mentioned among the most important. The first was a natural capacity for industry and commerce. This was nothing new, because for centuries during the Later Middle Ages and the Reformation the Germans were among the greatest traders in the world. In the nineteenth century they showed, in addition, a tremendous energy and a remarkable ability for invention. A second cause was government aid. For instance, a high tariff was erected to protect growing industries, special freight rates were given to products destined for exportation, excellent technical schools were maintained, and almost every form of industrial activity was supervised by the government to promote its progress. The watchwords of Germany became efficiency and system, and the state did everything possible to realize these ideals. A third cause was the adoption of wise methods of manufacturing and trade. Germans were quick to learn from the experience of Great Britain and France how to avoid the mistakes and gain the benefits of the Industrial Revolution. Factories were well organized and competing firms divided the market between themselves so as to avoid wasteful competition. The foreign market was carefully studied, methods that would gain the favor of foreign buyers were quickly adopted, and favorable terms of payment were offered, so that in one area after another Germany took away trade from her competitors. One method which Germany adopted from other countries and developed to a high pitch of perfection was "dumping"; that is, flooding a certain market with an article at a price often below cost, until all competitors, including native producers, were put out of business. Then the German producer, having a monopoly,

2. Government aid

3. Wise methods

could charge a high price and repay himself for the cost of the process.

VI. Socialism
A. Founding of the Social Democratic Party
1875

One of the movements which influenced the history of the German Empire most profoundly was socialism. The first man to organize the socialists of Germany into a political party was Ferdinand Lasalle. A few years later a similar organization was founded by William Liebknecht and August Bebel. Then, soon after the founding of the Empire, the two groups united with the name Social Democratic Party, the only organized political party at that time in Germany. They had many principles, of which one was their refusal to join with the middle class to take the control of the state away from the aristocracy. One reason for this attitude was that they had learned from the experience of the proletariat during the French Revolution that in such a coalition the middle class used the workers to win the victory and then kept all the gains for themselves.

B. Repression
1878
Oct., 1878
1890

Bismarck was antagonistic to the Socialists from the first. One reason was because they aimed at an international organization and he wanted to build up national consciousness in Germany. Another reason was because they believed in democracy and he was the champion of aristocracy. Consequently he decided to suppress them. A good occasion was provided when two attempts were made by Socialists to assassinate the venerated kaiser. Though the assassins acted only as individuals, yet the Socialists as a whole were blamed, and in the excitement of the moment a law was passed which prohibited all associations, meetings and publications with a socialistic tendency. The police were given almost unlimited powers to enforce it and hundreds of Socialists were punished by fines, imprisonment and exile. Their publications were suppressed, their societies disbanded, and their meeting places closed. Still they not only continued their agitation, but even increased their representation in the *Reichstag* until finally the laws against them were not renewed, and the attempt to repress them was recognized as a failure.

C. Socialistic legislation
1. Aim

At the same time that Bismarck attempted to suppress the Socialists he was wise enough to realize that he must give the workingmen a substitute for the offers of the Socialists. Besides, he believed that the state for its own benefit should make the living and working conditions of the lower classes as good as possible. So he made an appeal to the workers to support the government instead of the Socialists by offering them a program of socialistic legislation. He encountered so much opposition that he was never able to carry the program through as he first planned it, but he did succeed in establishing three types of social insurance. The first of these was sickness insurance. All workers with an income less than a certain low amount were required to insure themselves and pay two thirds of the premium, the other third of which was paid by the employer. In return the worker received free medical attendance while sick, one half his wages for a period of twenty-six weeks and a funeral benefit in case he died. The second type was accident insurance. Almost all industrial workers were required to be insured at the expense of their employers against accident in accordance with the degree of risk in that industry; and in case of injury not only was the worker given a benefit, but in case of his death his dependents were given assistance. The third was old age and disability insurance. This was compulsory for laborers with a wage less than a certain amount. The expense was paid by the worker, the employer and the state. After the age of seventy a small pension was paid in proportion to the contribution made by the worker. This kind of legislation was an experiment which proved so successful that it was widely imitated by other countries.

2. Types

1883

1884

1889

3. Success

D. Growth of Social Democratic Party

The program of socialistic legislation did not stop the growth of the Social Democratic Party. The increase in the number of factory laborers inevitably resulted in an increase in the number of Socialists, for that was the class to which their principles appealed the most. They were not drawn away from the Socialists by Bismarck's program, because they said that it was inadequate. They dropped their internationalism and so made a stronger appeal to the nationalists. At first William II tried to win them by kindness and the grant of more freedom, but they used it to increase their activities, so he became their bitter enemy. So much did their numbers increase that at last they became the largest party in the *Reichstag*. At the same time

1912

they strongly supported a growing demand for constitutional reforms; for example, the abolition of the three-class system of franchise in Prussia, the redistribution of the electoral districts, and a responsible ministry. It was evident that in a few years some of these concessions would have to be made.

VII. Militarism

Of all the characteristics of the German Empire none was more prominent than militarism. After France adopted the system of compulsory, universal, military service, Germany was forced to increase her standing army. In addition to that William II began the policy of building a large navy. This task was assigned to Admiral von Tirpitz, and so industriously 1897 did he apply himself to it, that before many years Germany had a navy second only to that of England and even threatening to surpass it. The natural result was to make an enemy of England, and unnecessarily so, because during the first part of the Empire England showed a decided friendship for Germany.

VIII. Colonial expansion

Another movement which made enemies for Germany was the search for colonies. The merchants felt that they needed colonies to provide a market, and nationalists wanted colonies so that Germany would not be behind other countries. But Germany entered the field of colonial competition so late that 1884 all the good colonies were gone, and except for Kiao-Chow in China the colonies she acquired were scarcely fit for colonization. Consequently the idea developed that Germany's field for expansion lay in Eastern Europe and Western Asia. This was called the "Push toward the East." One element in the push was the project of a railway from Berlin to Bagdad. However, this involved control of the Balkans, and an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. This in turn brought about a rivalry with Great Britain, Russia and the other countries already interested in those regions. Such a rivalry was sure to cause trouble, if not war.

IX. *Weltpolitik*

Due to all these influences — economic progress, colonial expansion, militarism and others — there grew up in Germany an idea known as *Weltpolitik*. This meant that Germany must play a part in all the affairs of the world, and not only that, but a dominant part. There was a growing conviction that Great Britain was decadent, France was defeated, and Germany was superior to all other countries. Germany's day of predominance was dawning, and she must assert herself.

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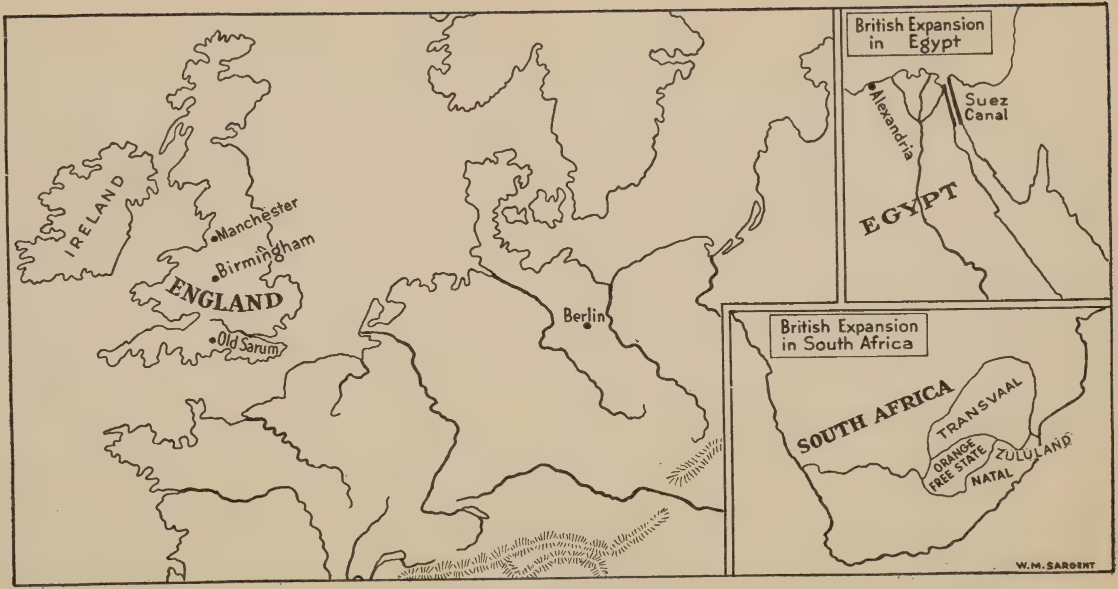
IRELAND
Manchester
Birmingham
ENGLAND
Old Sarum
Berlin
British Expansion in Egypt
Alexandria
Suez Canal
EGYPT
British Expansion in South Africa
SOUTH AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
ZULULAND
NATAL
W. M. SARGENT

Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century

CHAPTER XXXV

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: DISTRESS AND REFORM

(1815–1867)

I. The trend of the times

One of the advantages of studying history is that in looking back to the beginning of any period it is possible to pick out the important elements in the situation. This is because, after the history of the period is known, it is clear which elements were destined to have an important development. The most important element in the condition of Great Britain when she emerged victorious from the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 was the fact that the government was a misfit. It governed in the interests of only one class — the landlords. It was a government controlled by only one small part of the population — the aristocrats. There were serious evils in the condition of society, and the state was doing nothing to remove them. The government was failing to respond to the needs of the time. During the nineteenth century reforms were achieved by which the state assumed a wide number of new activities for the benefit of society, and more classes were given a share in the government. Thus Great Britain changed from a land of the Old Régime to a democratic nation.

II. Period of distress, 1815–1822
A. Causes
1. War

The first period of English history following the battle of Waterloo was a period of distress. One cause for distress was the war. As very often happens in history, war was followed by financial hardships in the victorious country while the vanquished country was relatively prosperous. Though Great Britain had won the victory, she had won it at the cost of a huge debt and an enormous burden of taxation. Another cause was unemployment. The factories engaged in manufacturing munitions of war closed, throwing their employees out of work, and thousands of soldiers came back from the army. Together they made a mass of jobless people who flooded the labor

2. Unemployment

3. Rising prices
4. Corn law, 1815
5. Bad government

market and depressed wages. There was a rise in the price of food, and in addition the government established a corn law which forbade the importation of grain into Great Britain unless the price was at a famine level. This of course was to protect the landlords, but unfortunately there actually were famines, due to bad weather and poor harvests, in which all too many people starved to death. To all these causes of distress was added the worst of all — the fact that the government did nothing to improve conditions.

B. Repression
1819
1819

The policy of the government in the period of distress was repression. The most important figure in the state was not the prime minister but Lord Castlereagh, the minister of foreign affairs. His chief aim was to hold things as they were so that the revolutionary elements could not break loose. Year after year there were riots which were merely suppressed without any attempt at alleviation of the evils that caused them. Finally a vast crowd of people assembled in the fields at Manchester to listen to Henry Hunt, a popular orator, and elect unofficial representatives to parliament. The magistrates saw ghosts of revolution, became alarmed, lost their heads, and ordered the soldiers to arrest the speaker. The soldiers charged upon the defenseless and peaceful crowd, there was a panic, and a number of people were killed. The whole affair was a disgrace to an inefficient government, but Castlereagh used it as an excuse for severe measures of repression, and the result was the passing of the Six Acts, which forbade seditious meetings and took other measures to guard against revolution.

III. Reforms of the Liberal Tories, 1822–1830
A. Change in ministry
1822
B. Foreign policy

The period of distress was suddenly followed by a period of reforms carried out by the Liberal Tories. This was because the need of reform gradually divided the Tories into two groups; the Conservative Tories who followed Castlereagh in wanting no changes, and the Liberal Tories led by Canning. When Castlereagh had a nervous breakdown, under the influence of which he committed suicide, Canning took his place as minister of foreign affairs and the leader of the government. The result was a series of reforms which did much to improve the condition of Great Britain. The first of these was a change in foreign policy. Under Castlereagh Great Britain had joined the Quadruple (Holy) Alliance, and supported the Metternich System, although she objected to harsh measures, such as intervention to suppress revolution. Soon after Canning became minister of foreign affairs the Alliance authorized France to intervene in Spain to suppress the revolution there. After the revolution was suppressed, the next step was to restore to Spain her South American colonies, which had seized the opportunity to rebel and to become republics. But Canning refused to let them be attacked. In this action he was supported by the United States, whose president issued the famous Monroe Doctrine. This was a clear break between Great Britain and the Holy Alliance. Canning acted as he did chiefly for two reasons: Great Britain would have far greater opportunities for trade with the South American countries if they were independent of Spain, and Great Britain having a parliamentary government should protect countries which also had one. Canning again applied this principle of foreign policy in the case of Greece. The Greeks had revolted against the Ottoman Empire and were waging a bitter war for independence. After several years they were practically vanquished. Their gallant struggle had appealed to the sympathies of people all over Europe, and finally Great Britain decided to intervene, partly to help an oppressed people, and partly because Russia was also on the point of intervention. If Russia intervened alone, then she might gain control over Turkey. This would be to Great Britain's disadvantage, because Great Britain wanted to keep Turkey as a buffer state to protect her own possessions in Asia. Consequently Great Britain, Russia and France all intervened at once, and Greece gained her independence. A parliamentary government was established, and thus again Great Britain broke away from the Holy Alliance.

1. Spain
1823

2. Greece
1822

1827

1827–1829

Another important reform made by the Liberal Tories was the revision of the tariff under the leadership of Huskisson, the president of the Board of Trade. His final goal was free trade, and toward this goal he made two steps in advance. He lowered the duties on many articles, so that smuggling became unprofitable, and he arranged reciprocity treaties with other nations by which the Navigation Acts restricting the

C. Tariff revision

1823

carrying trade to British ships were lifted in return for similar concessions from that country. One of the most praiseworthy of the reforms of the Liberal Tories was the amelioration of the criminal code as advocated by Sir Robert Peel, the home secretary. When he came into office, the criminal code was an atrocious affair with over a hundred death penalties and severe punishments for other crimes in proportion. In many cases juries refused to convict people clearly guilty, because the punishment prescribed by law was so manifestly unjust. By Peel's reform many of the death penalties were removed, punishments were proportioned more nearly to the severity of the offense, and the condition of prisons was improved. Another leader in reform was Francis Place, a tailor of London who developed into the first great trade union organizer. At that time trade unions were strictly forbidden by law, but due to his efforts they were given the right to organize, so long as they confined their activities to bargaining on questions of wages and hours for their members.

D. Amelioration of criminal code

E. Legalization of trade unions

1825

F. Catholic Emancipation, 1829

The last great reform of the period was Catholic Emancipation. During previous centuries all kinds of legal restrictions had been placed upon the Roman Catholics, of which the most famous was the Test Act, by which they were forbidden to hold a royal office. During the last part of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth almost all of these restrictions had been repealed or ignored, except those which forbade them to hold office in the state, or the army, or to sit in parliament. The inability to sit in parliament became especially serious after the Act of Union, 1800, which abolished the Irish parliament and gave the Irish representation at Westminster. The trouble was that most of the Irish were Catholics, and since Catholics were not eligible to parliament, the right to send representatives to Westminster seemed practically worthless to them. Under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell they organized a movement for the abolition of this last restriction, and after a great deal of agitation the Emancipation Act was passed. This act permitted Catholics to sit in parliament and to hold all offices in the state except a few of the most important, such as that of king. In brief, this meant that as citizens of the state Catholics had the same rights as Protestants. It was an important reform, and was followed by a strong Catholic revival, in which the Catholics made many converts and increased their power in Great Britain, just as they were doing in France at the same time.

IV. First Reform Bill, 1832

The period of Liberal Tory reforms was brought to a close by a reform far more important than any of them politically. This was the First Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832.

A. Causes

There were mainly three reasons why Great Britain needed a reform in parliament. The first was the fact that the electoral districts were unrepresentative of the people.

1. Unrepresentative electoral districts

There were two types of representative districts; the counties and the boroughs. In the case of the counties each had been allotted at some time in the past a certain number of representatives. But because the population had shifted from the Southeast to the Northwest during the Industrial Revolution, and for other reasons, the number given to each county was all out of proportion by this time. Some of the counties had far more than their share and some far less. The boroughs were incorporated towns which had each been given the right to send two representatives to parliament. In this case the number of representatives was even, but the size of the boroughs was not, so again the system did not adequately represent the population. In fact, there were some large cities like Birmingham that had no representatives, while some uninhabited sites of ancient towns, like Old Sarum, still sent two men to parliament.

2. Restricted franchise

Another cause for the reform was the restricted franchise. The franchise qualifications varied. In the counties they were different from the boroughs and in the boroughs they varied according to the provisions of the charter. In any case they were so restricted that out of a population of 14,000,000 there were only some 430,000 voters.

3. Political corruption

A third reason for the agitation that finally achieved the First Reform Bill was political corruption. This was particularly evident in the purchase and sale of votes. Seats in parliament were openly advertised for sale. Middlemen made a business of buying up votes in a borough and then retailing them at a higher price. If a man thus acquired a majority of the votes, it was called a pocket borough, because he could practically put its representation in his pocket. As a consequence the election of the members of parliament was controlled by a small proportion of the population and Great Britain was not a democracy but an aristocracy.

B. Reform movement

These and other parliamentary evils gave rise to a movement for parliamentary reform that began before the American Revolution. During the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars it made little progress because Englishmen were too much afraid of a revolution in their own country to make any changes in government. After 1815 the movement revived under the leadership of Lord John Russell and the conviction grew that if English government and society as a whole were to be reformed, parliamentary reform must come first, because until that was done the aristocrats in parliament would block all other reforms. The majority of the Whigs, in order to take power away from the Tories, supported the demand for reform. In the same year as the July Revolution in France the Whigs gained control of the cabinet and soon afterwards a bill was introduced providing for parliamentary reform. The struggle that ensued was a long and bitter one. The people of England were aroused in favor of reform not only by the need, but also by the fact that the Revolution of 1830 in France excited their own revolutionary spirit. Twice the opponents of the bill blocked its passage and it had to be drafted in a new form. Only when it was evident that unless the bill was passed rebellion would break forth, did its enemies yield, and it became law.

1830

March 1, 1831

C. Passage

June 7, 1832

D. Results

1. Redistribution of seats

The First Reform Bill had many far-reaching results, of which three were most important. First, it redistributed the representation of the boroughs by taking seats away from those that were too small and giving them to large ones, so that the representation was more nearly in proportion to the population. Second, it abolished the varying qualifications for the franchise in the boroughs, and established one uniform requirement that gave the vote to all men with a fairly large income. Thus 220,000 more voters were added to the elec-

2. Extension of franchise

torate. Third, and most important of all, it was a moral victory for democracy. There was much that it did not do: it did nothing to stop political corruption, it did not equalize electoral districts, and the extension in the franchise only admitted the upper middle class to a share in the government. However, the mere fact that a change had been made, that the partisans of parliamentary reform had won a victory, gave the people confidence in their powers. The movement for parliamentary reform had made an advance that was destined to continue until, before a century had passed, Great Britain was a complete democracy.

3. Moral victory

V. Whig reforms, 1832–1840

One immediate result of the First Reform Bill was the election of a parliament in which the reforming Whigs had a majority. This majority proceeded to carry through a number of economic and social reforms which the country had needed for a long time, and which were known as the Whig reforms. One of these was the complete abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. This achievement was largely the work of William Wilberforce, a man who dedicated his life to the abolition of slavery and died just one month before the victory was finally achieved. Another reform was the passage of a factory act establishing better conditions of labor for women and children. It was not the first factory act, but it was more important than any passed before, because it was the first to carry with it provision for enforcement. In the years that followed still more acts were passed regulating labor conditions in industry, until finally an elaborate code was drafted combining them all. One of the most important reforms was an Amendment to the Poor Law. It established a national commission for the control of poor relief, introduced the practice of payment of salaries into local government, and limited the dispensation of relief to those who were indigent or confined to the workhouse. It was destined to be modified as time went on, but it remained an important step in progress toward greater democracy. A small beginning was made on a national system of education by the appropriation of a small sum to subsidize the construction of buildings for primary schools. In this respect Great Britain was behind France and Prussia.

A. Abolition of slavery, 1833

B. Factory Act, 1833

C. Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834

D. Education Act, 1834

In another reform, however, the British established the system which has since been adopted by the rest of the world. This was the initiation of modern postal methods; for example, payment in advance by the purchase of a stamp, and the same rate for all letters regardless of distance. After these reforms and a few others had been achieved, the Whigs took the attitude that enough had been done, and the period of Whig reforms came to a close.

E. Modern postal system

VI. Victorian England

A. Queen Victoria (1837–1901)

The period which followed may best be described as Victorian England. It took its name from Victoria, the young queen who came to the throne while the Whigs were in power and continued to reign till the opening of the next century. She and her husband Prince Albert finally adopted the policy of allowing parliament and the cabinet to direct the government, while at the same time they took a deep interest in national affairs, and did much to help in the solution of England's problems. At the opening of the period three important movements of social reform were in progress. The first of these was socialism, led at that time by Robert Owen. The second was trade-unionism. It took advantage of its new freedom of organization to spread widely and to construct huge national organizations, most of which failed in a few years. Then the unions became more conservative and gradually developed the policies of organization followed at the present time. The third movement was Chartism. Chartism felt that the First Reform Bill and the Whig reforms were only a beginning, not an end. It aimed at a far more complete parliamentary reform, such as universal manhood suffrage and the secret ballot. This program was embodied in a document called the Peoples' Charter, from which the movement took its name. For about ten years all the radicals in politics joined the movement, and expended their efforts in the endeavor to have the Charter passed by parliament. They intended to have the reconstructed parliament then establish sweeping social reforms. Three times they brought a petition to parliament with hundreds of thousands of signatures asking for the passing of the Charter, and each time they were rebuffed completely. The movement as such failed, but the ideals con-

B. Three movements of social reform

1. Socialism

2. Trade-unionism

3. Chartism

tinued. They were taken up by other groups and eventually almost all of the provisions of the Charter became law.

C. Free trade

Another important movement in the Victorian period was the establishment of free trade. As already stated, the corn law passed at the close of the Napoleonic Wars forbade the importation of grain unless the price was at a famine level. The free-traders attacked not only this law, which caused an enormous amount of suffering, but also the Navigation Acts and the tariff generally. However, the repeal of the corn law became the main objective in the fight for free trade. After it was evident that the Whigs would not touch it, an Anti-Corn Law League was organized composed largely of the manufacturers of Great Britain and backed by large funds. It was led by Richard Cobden, a masterly statesman and orator, unselfishly devoted to the welfare of Great Britain. The League had many arguments in favor of free trade, of which the strongest was the fact that the Industrial Revolution had changed Great Britain from an agricultural country into an industrial one. The nation now produced more manufactured goods than her inhabitants could consume, and so to keep the factories going was compelled to export manufactured products. On the other hand the farmers of Great Britain did not produce enough food to maintain the population, and Great Britain was forced to import foodstuffs. It was useless to have an import duty on manufactured articles because Great Britain was far superior to all competitors. It was injurious to have a tariff on imports of food, because Great Britain needed the food. The achievement of prosperity required an unrestricted interchange of her manufactured products for the agricultural products of other countries, and tariffs were a barrier to this interchange. Consequently the tariffs should be removed. The matter came to a crisis when a failure of the potato crop in Ireland caused a famine, and the necessity of free importation of food became evident. The corn law was repealed after a bitter fight, in which Sir Robert Peel was forced to retire, and in a few years practically all the Navigation Acts and tariffs were abolished. Thus Great Britain became a free trade country.

D. Change in imperial policy

1. Old policy

At about the same time a great change took place in imperial policy. After the American Revolution the dominant policy in dealing with the colonies was to prepare for eventual secession, just as fruit ripens and falls off a tree. Colonies were used as criminal settlements, or subject territories, or trading stations, not as outlets for the population of Great Britain. In the Victorian period a new attitude was developed, largely due to the writings of a man named Gibbon Wakefield.

2. New theory

His theory was that the government should treat the colonies as outlets for the surplus population of Great Britain, and encourage emigration by aiding the colonists. Instead of regarding the parts of the empire as antagonistic countries that would eventually break off, they should be given as much self-government as possible, and developed into sister nations closely bound to Great Britain.

3. New policy

A rebellion in Canada in 1837 led to an investigation by Lord Durham, assisted by Wakefield, and the committee reported in favor of adopting this new policy. A few years later a revolt in India, called the Sepoy Mutiny, revealed the fact that much of the discontent was due to bad government. An entirely new form of government was given to the country and proved to be one of the most efficient in the world. Gradually the application of the new policy resulted in the creation of great, self-governing units, such as Canada, which were settled largely by Englishmen, and were marked by a growing loyalty to the mother country.

E. New political parties: Liberals and Conservatives

In Great Britain itself, the most important development in politics was the formation of two new political parties. During the period of reform preceding and following the First Reform Bill both the Whigs and the Tories split into conservative and progressive factions, largely on whether they favored the Reform Bill or not. Groups formed around great leaders. For example, the one which followed Sir Robert Peel was known as the Peelites. Though the names Whigs and Tories still continued to be used, the organization of the two parties was destroyed and politics were largely in a state of chaos. Gradually out of this chaotic condition there emerged two new parties called the Liberals and the Conservatives. Both of them favored reform, but the Conservatives wanted it to be a slow progress while the Liberals wanted steady progress. Gradually each built up an organization giving it unity and a permanent form. Each was fortunate enough to find for itself a great leader. The Liberals found a chief in Gladstone, the Conservatives followed the leadership of Benjamin Disraeli. Both of them had been members of parliament for a long time. The issue which finally brought them to the front as the two greatest statesmen in Great Britain was the Second Reform Bill.

F. Second Reform Bill, 1867

Ever since the passage of the First Reform Bill it had been evident that it was inadequate, and the rapid increase in the industrial population made its imperfections more and more serious. Gradually the issue developed of whether or not the franchise should be extended to the industrial laborers. This issue finally became so strong that it was the main item in playing politics. The matter came to a head when the Liberals introduced a reform bill and the Conservatives by defeating it gained control of the government. However, the public demand for reform was so strong that Disraeli was forced to renounce his election promises by a clever process of rationalization, and take the lead in passing the Second Reform Bill, 1867. It gave the vote to the industrial workers in the boroughs and in addition extended it to practically all landowners of any importance in the counties. At the same time many seats were redistributed from small boroughs to larger ones. The immediate result of the bill was that in the general election of the next year the industrial laborers gave the Liberals under Gladstone a strong majority, and parliament proceeded to pass a large amount of reform legislation. Since the close of the eighteenth century Great Britain had traveled a long way toward making the government a government in the interests of all the governed. The greatest advance, however, was still to be made.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE TRIUMPH OF REFORM (1867–1914)

I. Gladstone's first ministry, 1868–1874
A. Gladstone

William E. Gladstone, who became prime minister for the first time in 1868, was destined to be prime minister three more times before his political career was ended. He was a member of the rich, upper middle class, and aristocratic in his attitude toward the rest of men. Soon after he graduated from Oxford he began his political career as a Tory in the first reformed parliament, but by the time of the Second Reform Bill he had become a Liberal leading in the work of reform. He was a gifted orator, who relied upon a careful study of his subject, weighty arguments, and a ponderous style of polished eloquence. Among his many abilities the one which gained him greatest renown was his skill as a financier. As chancellor of the exchequer he was never surpassed by anybody of his time. Unfortunately his long career as the recognized leader of his party developed a habit of domineering over the opinions of others that offended more than one follower unnecessarily. By the time of his first ministry he had definitely settled down to a policy of reform at home and stagnation abroad. In foreign affairs he assumed an attitude of non-participation in European concerns that was grandiloquently labeled " Splendid Isolation." 1833

B. Reforms

1. Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, 1869

The first ministry of Gladstone was marked by a series of reforms in the construction of the British state that were of paramount importance. One of these was the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. This was a just measure, because almost all of the Irish were either Catholics or Presbyterians, and there was no good reason why they should be forced to support the Anglican Church. The government left the Anglican Church its buildings with sufficient property

2. Education Act, 1870

3. Reorganization of the courts, 1873

1873

4. Secret ballot

1872

5. Civil service and army reform

1874

to support the clergy, and then took the rest to be used for charitable purposes. Another important reform was the passage of an Education Act that established a system of national, primary schools supported and supervised by the state under the direction of a central board. A few years later attendance at these, or equivalent schools, was made compulsory, and thus for the first time Great Britain possessed adequate elementary education for everybody. One of the most needed reforms accomplished by Gladstone was the reorganization of the English courts. Though England was noted for the development in the Middle Ages of a system of law and courts far in advance of other countries, the development had been more or less haphazard, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the confusion of overlapping jurisdictions and judicial red tape was so great that a housecleaning was badly needed. A parliamentary act was passed which simplified the jurisdiction of the various courts and united the eight supreme courts into one. Another evil which had long awaited a remedy was political corruption, and this Gladstone's ministry did much to curb by an act requiring the use of the secret ballot in elections. The civil service was reformed by an extension of the use of examinations in choosing people for office, and the army was improved by the abolition of the purchase of commissions. To these outstanding improvements in government were added others that made the first ministry of Gladstone a period of brilliant achievements. However, each reform made enemies of the people whose evil practices it bridled, and when the next general election took place the Liberals were defeated. The Conservatives won a majority of the seats in parliament, and Disraeli was made prime minister.

II. Imperialistic expansion under Disraeli, 1874–1880

A. Disraeli

Benjamin Disraeli was a Christian Jew who in more than one respect was a contrast to his rival, Gladstone. Disraeli was one of the most popular novelists of the day, in spite of the fact that his style was often wearisome and his plots autobiographical. Like Gladstone he entered parliament while still a young man, but unlike him he was for a long time unpopular with the other members. Only after a long struggle did he force them to recognize his ability, and even then he was accepted as a leader only because his party had no other whose talents equaled his. He was a skillful orator, much given to sharp invective and bitter witticisms. In politics he was shrewd and versatile, relying upon his ability to play the game as much as upon the worthiness of his cause. While Gladstone made no effort to please the queen and sometimes offended her, Disraeli was careful to gain her favor by flattery, special attention and the statement of political problems in popular language. In general his policy was just the opposite of Gladstone's; comparative stagnation at home and aggressiveness in foreign affairs. Consequently his ministry was marked by an active interest in the empire and expansion abroad.

B. Areas of activity

There were four areas in which Disraeli's imperialistic interest made him most active: Egypt, South Africa, the Balkans, and Afghanistan. His efforts for expansion were most successful in Egypt. It happened that during the period of the Second Empire the King of Egypt had granted to a French company the right to build a Suez canal, in return for which he was given a controlling interest in the company. The canal was successfully built, but the king's son and successor was such a spendthrift that he was soon in financial difficulties and had to borrow money from England. This was quickly spent, and his credit having been exhausted, he tried to raise funds by offering for sale his shares in the Suez Canal. While the French were haggling with him over the price, Disraeli secretly bought them for the very low sum of £4,000,000. It was a wonderful bargain, not only because it was a profitable financial investment, but also because it gave Great Britain the control of the shortest route to India. The British were wild with joy. Queen Victoria was given the title "Empress of India," and Disraeli was honored with a peerage, taking the name Lord Beaconsfield. However, the purchase of the Suez Canal did not end the episode. Before many months the King of Egypt was again bankrupt, and, since France and England were the principal debtors, they forced him to accept two financial supervisors of his government, one French and the other British. This the Egyptians took as an offense to their national honor, and a few years later anti-foreign riots broke

1. Egypt

1856

1859–1869

1875

1877

1877

out in Alexandria. It was necessary to land troops in Alexandria to defend European lives and property. France refused to take part in such an enterprise, so Great Britain performed the task alone. The riots were subdued and the Egyptian government was forced to accept British appointees for the important offices in the state. Thus Great Britain acquired a protectorate over Egypt. Though from the first it was clearly understood that this protectorate was to be only temporary, the importance of Egypt to the control of the route to India was so great that for this and other reasons Great Britain continued her control indefinitely. 1882

2. South Africa

In South Africa British expansion began with the acquisition of Cape Colony from Holland during the Napoleonic Wars. Almost at once conflict arose between the British and Dutch settlers. It came to a head when Great Britain abolished slavery. 1833 The Boers, as the Dutch settlers were called, objected so strenuously to what they considered an unjust violation of their property rights that they migrated northward and founded three new colonies; Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. A few years later Great Britain annexed the first two of these states, but recognized the independence of Transvaal. Soon afterwards diamonds were discovered in Transvaal, with the result that British imperialists cast greedy eyes upon that area as well. During Disraeli's ministry a dispute arose between Transvaal and the native tribe of Zulus. This gave the British an excuse for sending a commission of investigation into the district. The commission returned an unjustified report that Transvaal wished to be annexed to the British Empire, and without further ado the annexation took place. 1878 The result was a war with the Zulus in which the British were at first defeated. 1879 The Boers in Transvaal took advantage of the situation to revolt and win their independence. 1881 Though the Zulus were later conquered, the British policy in Transvaal had gained no friends among the Boers. 1887

3. Balkans

In the Balkans Disraeli's policy was to uphold the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, so as to have a barrier against Russian expansion in Asia toward India. When the misrule of the Turks over the Christian peoples of the Balkans passed

1877 the limit of endurance, Russia intervened and declared war. Russia won the victory in a few months and forced the Turks to accept a treaty by which Russia was given a firm hold upon the Balkans. Then Disraeli intervened, and, supported by Germany, insisted that the matter should be referred to a European congress. Russia was compelled to submit. The congress met in Berlin, 1878, and Disraeli and Bismarck not only took from Russia most of the fruits of victory, but even gave to Austria the strong place in the Balkans which Russia had wanted. Disraeli and his friends regarded the Congress of Berlin as a great diplomatic victory for England, even calling it a "peace with honor." However, it is doubtful whether his policy was wise. The future was to show that Austria, Germany and Turkey were England's enemies, while Russia was her ally. Consequently Disraeli had helped those who were later to oppose Great Britain.

4. Afghanistan

In Afghanistan Disraeli's chief task was to oppose Russian influence. His attempts to do this finally involved Great 1878–1880 Britain in a war in which the country was subdued, but by that time another general election had taken place, the Con- 1880 servatives were defeated by the Liberals, and Gladstone was once again prime minister. Since Gladstone was opposed to imperial expansion, the British forces were withdrawn, and Great Britain contented herself with the possession of fortresses on the border from which she could prevent any Russian aggression.

III. Third Reform Bill, 1884

The greatest accomplishment of Gladstone's second ministry was the passage of the Third Reform Bill, which extended the franchise to agricultural laborers and others, so that all but a few classes of men had the right to vote. Along with the 1885 Reform Bill was joined a Redistribution Bill, which divided most of Great Britain into single member constituencies of the same size. This made the representation of the people in parliament more nearly equal than it had ever been before.

IV. Irish problem

The matter which occupied most of Gladstone's attention was the Irish problem. This was a very complicated problem, and it was probably true that nobody was more thoroughly familiar with its various aspects than Gladstone. There were

A. Causes for discontent

1. Religion

three main causes for discontent in Ireland. The first was religion. The majority of the Irish were Roman Catholics except in the northern county of Ulster, where they were mostly Presbyterians. In either case their religion made them antagonistic to the British, who were mostly Anglicans. Though Roman Catholic Emancipation and the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland took away most of the religious grievances, the hostility still remained. The second cause was the method of agriculture. The Irish were not good farmers. They relied almost entirely upon potatoes for food, in spite of the fact that the climate of Ireland was not good for growing potatoes, because it was too damp. Consequently the crop often was too small to last over the winter, or failed entirely, and famines were frequent. This caused bitter suffering, and suffering caused discontent. The third and chief cause of complaint was the land system. Most of the land in Ireland was owned by Englishmen who were called absentees because they lived in England. They entrusted their land to overseers who were often harsh in their methods and exacted such high rents that they were called rack rents. They could do this because the country was overpopulated and there was a demand for land. Often they evicted the tenants without any compensation for improvements. It didn't help much for the Irish to hold their own land, because they had such a passion for landholding that they divided their land or sublet their holdings between their heirs, and so the portions became too small to support them. Because of these evils agitation and violence increased in Ireland, and the government replied by measures of repression.

2. Method of agriculture

3. Land system

B. First Irish Land Act, 1870

Gladstone tried to alleviate the situation during his first ministry by passing the Irish Land Act, providing that tenants should be compensated for improvements, if evicted without just cause. Unfortunately, this fell so far short of meeting all the needs of the Irish that the agitation continued. During the ministry of Disraeli the Irish Land League was organized and a very effective method of resistance was originated called boycotting. It gained its name from Captain Boycott, the man to whom it was first applied. A person was boycotted by a very

C. Agitation

severe form of ostracism — nobody would work for him, his mail was not delivered, and people refused to do business with him. The Irish found a brilliant leader in Parnell, a gifted orator who adopted a policy of obstructionism; that is, delaying proceedings in parliament until his demands were granted just in order to make him keep silent. When Gladstone became minister again, he passed another land act which guaranteed more rights to the Irish tenants. Still they were not satisfied, the violence continued, and two British officials in Ireland were murdered. The government dissolved the Land League, but its place was taken by the Irish Nationalist Party, which centered its activities on the demand for Home Rule. They believed that if Ireland had its own government many of its troubles would be solved. The Irish Nationalists gradually increased the number of their representatives in parliament until Gladstone was won to their cause and introduced the first Home Rule Bill. However, many of the Liberals did not agree with Gladstone. They refused to follow him in the matter of Home Rule, the party split, and the bill was defeated. The Conservatives gained control of the government for several years until another election again made Gladstone prime minister. Once more he introduced a Home Rule Bill and once more it was defeated. The result was that he finally retired from public life, while in Ireland a movement began which demanded not merely Home Rule but even complete independence.

D. Second Irish Land Act, 1881

E. Demand for Home Rule

1886

1886–1892

1893

V. Conservative rule

After the defeat of the First Home Rule Bill the Conservatives were in power for twenty years, except for the brief period during which the second bill was introduced. During this period they made some highly important reforms in the government and society of Great Britain. One of the most valuable was a change in local government. The rural districts of Great Britain had been practically without any political form of local self-government for a long time. Now the Conservatives established representative councils in the counties and the parishes. These councils became valuable agents in improving local conditions. A number of acts were passed to improve working and living conditions; for example, local authorities were given power to build sanitary houses for the

A. Local government reform

1888, 1894

B. Reform in working and living conditions, 1890, 1892 poor, and county councils were authorized to help poor laborers buy land. Though neither act was very successful, a good start had been made in the right direction. The system of national education was revised by making the schools subject to the county councils. During these years socialism made real progress. A number of socialistic organizations were formed, of which one of the most important was the Fabian Society. Their policy was not to overthrow the government but to transform it by educating the public first. Another socialist organization was the Labor Party formed at the beginning of the twentieth century by the trade unions. Most of the Socialists gave it their political support, and so it became practically a socialist party. The first election in which it played an important part was the election of 1906, in which the main issue was the revival of protectionism.

C. Revision of education, 1902

D. Growth of socialism

Protectionism was revived by a group of the Conservatives led by Joseph Chamberlain. The Conservatives generally had always been deeply interested in expansion and also in the difficult problem of developing imperial unity. As the colonies were given more and more self-government there was a serious danger that they would separate from the empire. Chamberlain sought to counteract this disintegrating influence by establishing a partial imperial tariff union. His plan was for Great Britain to restore a system of protective tariffs in which the members of the empire would be given either preferential treatment or made completely exempt. He claimed that the policy of free trade had failed, and on this issue fought the campaign of 1906. The result was a split in the Conservative party, because the majority of the people were still committed to free trade. Consequently the Liberals won a sweeping victory.

E. Revival of protectionism

The election of 1906 was the beginning of a period of extensive Liberal reforms. The leaders in the movement were the premier, Herbert Asquith, and the chancellor of the exchequer, Lloyd George. Great Britain was beginning to feel the effect of German commercial and industrial competition. In order to keep pace it was necessary, the Liberals claimed, not only to increase the manufacture and sale of goods, but also to make the

VI. Liberal reforms
A. Leaders and aims

British nation as a whole more healthy by eliminating poverty. So they began a " war on poverty."

B. Socialistic legislation

The chief means to which they resorted in the attempt to abolish poverty was an elaborate program of socialistic legislation modeled on Bismarck's socialistic legislation in Germany. 1906 A Workmens' Compensation Act was passed which required employers in dangerous industries to insure their men against accident and to compensate them in case of injury. Another 1911 act provided for insurance against sickness and unemployment by requiring contributions from employers, employees and the 1908 state. Old age pensions were established for people who had less than a certain income. The principle upon which they were based was not poor relief, but the idea that people who had served the state by a life of useful toil should be rewarded by a pension in their old age. Another law established the custom of providing meals for underfed school children, and still other laws aimed to help the weaker classes, such as the poor farmer who wanted to buy land. One of the most important features of the whole program was the complete legalization of 1906 trade unions. Laws were passed by which they were given full 1913 rights to conduct strikes, and to use their funds for political purposes. Though these were far-reaching reforms, they were only part of the Liberal program. There were still other improvements in society that they wished to make which were blocked by the veto of the House of Lords. One of these was a tax on the unearned increment on land; that is, the increase in value due not to improvements by the owner but to the develop- 1909 ment of the district around it. To defeat this tax the Lords vetoed the budget. This was contrary to all precedent, and the result was a bitter struggle between the Liberals and the House of Lords.

C. Parliamentary reform

The main issue in the struggle between the Liberals and the Lords was the veto power of the Upper House. This was in essence a question of parliamentary government, because it decided whether the final power rested in the hands of the elected representatives of the people or of the hereditary aristocracy. If the Lords could absolutely veto the actions of the House of Commons, then it was of small use for the people to elect representatives. For instance, the Liberals gained little by defeating the Conservatives in the election of 1906, because the Conservatives could still control the government through their majority in the House of Lords. The struggle was a long one. Two elections were held in which the people 1910 were asked to declare on which side they stood, and in each election they returned a majority for the Liberals. The Lords were forced to acknowledge their defeat, and the Parliament Act of 1911 was passed. This act had the following main provisions: (1) a financial measure, if passed by the House of Commons, became law with or without the consent of the Lords; (2) a public bill, if passed twice by the House of Commons over the veto of the House of Lords within two successive years, became law; (3) the full duration of parliament was lowered from seven to five years; and (4) members of Commons were given a salary of £400 a year. Thus the final power in the government was given to the House of Commons and another important step was taken in advance toward a fully democratic government. Still further progress was made by the Fourth Reform Bill, 1918, which established universal manhood suffrage and a limited form of woman suffrage. Finally, ten years later the vote was given to all women twenty-one years of age.

D. Irish Home Rule

The Liberals also made a desperate attempt to solve the problem of Ireland by a bill establishing Home Rule. It was vetoed twice by the House of Lords and finally passed over their 1912–1914 veto. However, the Protestants in the north of Ireland were so afraid that it would deliver the country into the hands of the Catholics that they refused to accept the bill and even prepared to resist it by force of arms. Just then the World War 1914 broke forth and the enforcement of the bill was suspended till after the war. Events during the war changed the situation and after the war an entirely different solution of the problem had to be made.

It was extremely unfortunate for Great Britain that the war broke into the Liberal march toward a new country. The program of reform had only partially triumphed. There was still more to be done. Instead of accomplishing it, as would probably have happened, Great Britain was completely occupied with the problem of winning the war and then paying for it. Meanwhile reform had to wait.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. Reaction under Alexander I and Nicholas I

A. Alexander I

Alexander I, the tsar who drove Napoleon out of Russia and started the Holy Alliance, was a sentimentalist. Even though he was one of the most autocratic rulers in Europe, he had a sentimental interest in liberal government, and even gave a liberal constitution to Poland after its addition to Russia in 1815. A small enlightened class of people in Russia hoped that he would do the same for them, but under the influence of Metternich his sentimentalism turned conservative. Such events as the murder of Kotzebue made him suspicious of liberalism. He delayed his plans for concessions in Russia, then abandoned them, and finally allowed the Metternich System to be established in full force.

B. Nicholas I (1825–1855)

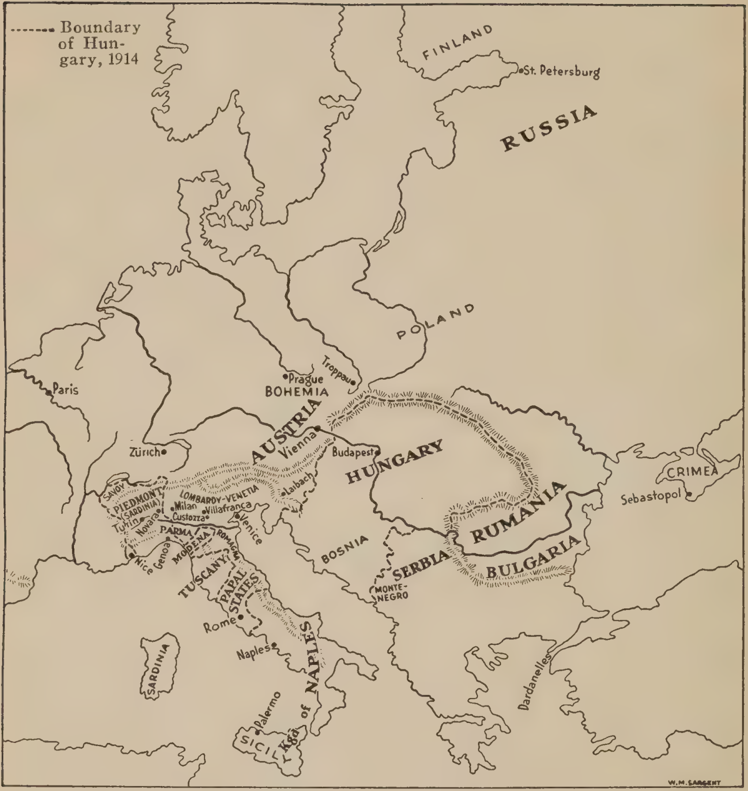
1. Personality

When he died, he was followed by his younger brother, Nicholas I. Nicholas had quite a different temperament. He was an army man with a militarist's worship for strict discipline. He was cold and cruel, and his cruelty was made all the colder by a strong sense of duty. Queen Victoria remarked after she first met him that he was excessively polite, but had the most "formidable" look she had ever seen.

2. Revolutions

Two events at the beginning of his reign turned him against the Liberals. During the reign of Alexander various secret societies had organized. These societies seized the opportunity of the change in rulers to start a revolt known as the Decembrist Conspiracy. Though it was only a small affair with no hope of success, Nicholas imagined it was a nation-wide movement, suppressed it with great severity, and ever afterwards cherished a wholesome hatred of revolutionists. The second event was the Polish Revolution of 1830. When revolution broke forth in France in 1830, the revolutionary contagion rapidly spread all over Europe, and reached even to Poland. In spite of the fact that the Poles were better treated than any

Dec., 1825


Boundary of Hungary, 1914
FINLAND
St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
POLAND
Paris
Prague
Troppau
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Zürich
Budapest
HUNGARY
Laibach
SAVOY
PIEDMONT (SARDINIA)
LOMBARDY-VENETIA
Milan
Villafranca
Turin
Novara
Custozza
Venice
PARMA
MODENA
ROMAGNA
Nice
Genoa
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Naples
Kgd. of NAPLES
SARDINIA
Palermo
SICILY
BOSNIA
SERBIA
MONTE-NEGRO
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
CRIMEA
Sebastopol
Dardanelles
W. M. SARGENT

Russia, Austria and Italy in the Nineteenth Century.

other group in the Russian Empire, they rose in rebellion and drove out the Russian army. Of course they realized that all by themselves they were unable to win their independence, but they hoped that France would intervene, and while they waited for France to do so, they negotiated with the tsar. After several months it became evident that France would give them no aid, and the tsar, having gathered his forces together, attacked them. In spite of the fact that the Poles fought bravely, they were outnumbered and completely defeated. Poland was reduced to a province, and subjected to a harsh government. Sept., 1831

3. Reaction

The effect of the Polish Revolution was to make Nicholas I a complete reactionary. In his mind the experience of Russia with Poland proved that giving a people powers of self-government only made them more seditious than ever. At the beginning of his reign he had entertained some plans for reforming the administration of Russia. Now he abandoned those plans completely, and instead devoted his energies to organizing the Metternich System in Russia with all the efficiency of which he was capable. He took as his three ideals orthodoxy, autocracy and patriotism. All those who did not agree in religion with the Greek Orthodox Church (the Established Church of Russia) were persecuted. A strict censorship was established, and anybody even suspected of liberal opinions on government was severely punished. In some cases people were even officially declared insane for having voiced liberal ideas.

II. Crimean War, 1853–1856

A. Causes

In foreign affairs Nicholas I pursued an aggressive policy that finally involved him in the Crimean War with the Ottoman Empire, England, France and Piedmont. There were three main causes for the Crimean War, none of which was a sufficient reason for such a vast amount of suffering. The first cause was a long-standing quarrel between the Greek Catholics and the Roman Catholics for the guardianship of the Holy Places of Palestine. By virtue of treaties with the Turks dating from the sixteenth century this right belonged to the Roman Catholics, but the Greek Catholics had been so much more assiduous in exercising the right that they had gained possession of most of the sites of any importance. In this quarrel Russia acted as the protector of the Greek Church, since that was her estab-

1. Quarrel over the Holy Places

1852 lished form of religion, and France, after the accession of Napoleon III, took the side of the Roman Catholics. 2. Russian imperialism The second cause was the attack made by Russia's imperialistic ambitions upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Ever since the days of Peter I Russia had been striving to gain control of the Black Sea and of its outlet to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles. Gradually she had crept nearer and nearer to her goal until now it seemed that the next step was to partition the Ottoman Empire as Poland had been partitioned in the eighteenth century. The difficulty was that England wanted to keep the Ottoman Empire as a buffer between her Asiatic possessions and Russia, while France also had imperialistic ambitions that conflicted with those of Russia. 3. Failure of Turkish reforms The third cause was the failure of Turkish reforms and the decision of Nicholas I that the time had come to partition the Ottoman Empire. A European protectorate had been established a few years before with the understanding that reforms were going to be made in the Turkish government. 1839 These reforms were not made. Finally Nicholas became tired of waiting, and sent an ultimatum to Constantinople which demanded practically a Russian protectorate over the country. 1853 The ultimatum was refused and war began.

B. Events

1. Russo-Turkish campaign Nov. 30, 1853 The war opened with a campaign between the Russians and the Turks in which the Russians were defeated as they advanced down the west coast of the Black Sea. On the other hand the Turkish fleet was destroyed by the Russian battleships. Then, to the surprise of Nicholas, Great Britain made an alliance with France, and entered the war on the side of the Turks. 2. Intervention of France and England, March 24, 1854 Nicholas had told Great Britain of his plans for the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire and had thought that the British approved. Had they only expressed strong disapproval he might not have begun the war. The allies chose as their objective the fortress of Sebastopol on the peninsula of Crimea, because it was the most important Russian port. 3. Siege of Sebastopol, Oct. 17, 1854–Sept. 18, 1855 They landed their troops and won a few easy victories. Then instead of taking Sebastopol by storm, as they were well able to do, they began a long siege attack. The following winter was one long agony for the troops. Supplies failed to arrive, the

cold was intense, and disease raged in their camp. This was nothing new in war, but two elements in the situation were new. For the first time in history newspaper correspondents informed the public of the horrors of war, and in Great Britain the resentment was so intense that the ministry was forced to resign. The other new element was the organization of an efficient hospital corps under the direction of an English nurse named Florence Nightingale. When spring came it looked as if the war might end, because Nicholas I died and his successor Alexander II was not enthusiastic for the conflict. However, long negotiations failed to accomplish anything, and the fighting was renewed. Finally the allies took Sebastopol by storm. Still they were a long way from conquering or even seriously crippling Russia. The factor that finally decided Russia to make peace was the threat of Austria to intervene on the side of the allies.

4. New elements

March 2, 1855

5. Austrian threat to intervene

The dispute was then referred to the Congress of Paris in 1856. This congress established a number of rules for the settlement of the international problems of Europe, of which the following were the most important in deciding the issues of the Crimean War. The Ottoman Empire was guaranteed its integrity, and, in order to assure it, warships and fortresses were forbidden on the Black Sea. The Christians of Turkey, instead of being put under a Russian protectorate, were made subject to the sultan with a promise of reforms. These provisions were agreed to by the most important of the nations of Europe, although within fifteen years both of them were openly violated. The chief effect of the Crimean War in Russia was to discredit the régime of Nicholas I, for it revealed the incompetence of the government.

C. Congress of Paris, 1856

D. Effect

The reign of Alexander II began with an era of important reforms. One of these was the emancipation of the serfs. It was not an easy problem, and it was only after a careful study of its many complications that Alexander finally issued a decree in 1861 which gave the serfs mainly two privileges. The first of these was freedom from the landlords. The lords were deprived of the right to exact dues from the serfs, to control their marriage, or to limit their personal freedom in other ways. The

III. Reign of Alexander II (1855–1881)

A. Reforms

1. Emancipation of the serfs, Feb. 19, 1861

second privilege was the provision of land for their use. This was accomplished by requiring the lords to sell a certain portion of their land to the peasant community, called the *mir*, at a price fixed by the government on the basis of the income of the land. The government repaid the lords, and in turn required the community to pay for the land by annual installments. Though on the surface this looked like a great advantage for the peasants, there were at least two features of the emancipation scheme which made it quite insufficient. The peasant was still tied to the land, and the land belonged not to him but to the community. The amount given the community soon became far too small for its growing population. In some cases peasants even had to be forced to accept emancipation.

2. *Zemstvos*

An important reform in local government was the establishment of district and provincial councils called *zemstvos*. These councils were composed of representatives elected by the people according to a three-class system. They were given charge of various local affairs such as roads and poor relief. Though they had many defects, yet on the whole they were a real benefit to the country. A third reform was in the judicial system. The control of the courts was taken away from the landlords and given to the *zemstvos*. In addition new features were introduced so as to assure a more just mode of trial. Trials were made public, an attorney was given to the accused, and the jury system was introduced.

3. Judicial system

B. Reaction

These reforms were followed by a period of reaction. The reaction was due to a wide variety of causes; for instance, the tsar had a changeable disposition, the nobles opposed the reforms, a Communist attempted to assassinate the tsar, and, most important of all, a revolution broke out in Poland. Alexander thought the revolution was due to the encouragement he had given the revolutionists by his reforms. Consequently he suppressed the revolt, and then proceeded to establish a system of censorship and espionage more strict than anything which Russia had ever known. The *zemstvos* were hampered, education was restricted so that it was impossible for it to progress, and large numbers of people were exiled to Siberia. Thus he

1863

practically took away what little self-government he had given to Russia.

C. Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878
1. Cause

Toward the close of Alexander's reign Russia again became involved in trouble with the Ottoman Empire which finally resulted in the Russo-Turkish War. The main cause of the war was the fact that the sultan had failed to make the reforms which he had promised by the Treaty of Paris, 1856. In fact, when some of the Christian states in the Balkans revolted against his harsh rule, he even massacred their inhabitants by the thousands in the most atrocious manner. This gave Russia another opportunity to seek the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, because here was a good pretext for war. The Russian troops were easily victorious, and after a few months captured the important fortress of Adrianople. The Turks were forced to make peace, and by the Treaty of San Stefano with Russia they agreed to make Bosnia autonomous, to give independence to Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, and to grant autonomy to a big Bulgaria under a Russian protectorate. This meant that Russia practically controlled the Balkans and the Dardanelles. Then to the chagrin of Russia Great Britain intervened and demanded that the matter be referred to a European congress. Russia was forced to submit, because Germany and Austria supported the demand. At the Congress of Berlin a new treaty was arranged, by which Austria was given a protectorate over Bosnia, Great Britain was given Cyprus, and Bulgaria was put under an international instead of a Russian protectorate. Thus all the fruits of victory were taken away from Russia.

2. Russian victory
Jan., 1878
March 3, 1878

3. Congress of Berlin, 1878

IV. Industrial Revolution in Russia
A. Importance

One of the chief reasons for studying the history of Russia in the nineteenth century is to discover the features in the situation which led to the remarkable revolution in the twentieth century by which the Russian government was changed from the most autocratic into the most socialistic in Europe. Of the many tendencies in this direction one of the most important was the Industrial Revolution. By the time of the Russo-Turkish War it was making great headway in Russia. One reason for its progress was government encouragement. The autocratic government was clever enough to discover in

B. Causes

education a force that would undermine autocracy, but they were not far-sighted enough to foresee that the Industrial Revolution by creating new economic and social conditions would inevitably cause a change in political conditions. Not realizing this, they helped the movement along by constructing a high protective tariff, by reforming the currency, and by encouraging foreign capitalists to invest their money in Russia.

C. Forms

The Industrial Revolution took much the same forms in Russia as elsewhere. A vast network of railways was constructed. Of these the greatest was the Trans-Siberian Railway that stretched thousands of miles across Asia to the Pacific. Coal and iron mines were developed, and factories were built. Along with these changes in the mode of industry came the same effects upon society as in other countries; mainly, the rise of the industrial capitalist and the increase of industrial labor. As their numbers grew, the capitalists and the rest of the middle class wanted more control of the government. The factory laborers became more and more discontented with their condition, and listened attentively to socialistic doctrines that offered them hope of improving their status in life. Eventually there was sure to be a political revolution, because the Industrial Revolution created a new society that demanded a new state.

D. Effects

V. Russian Revolutionism
A. Cause

The reactionary policy of Alexander II had two results: one was the suppression of a great deal of moderate agitation for reform, and the other was the increase in revolutionary parties that were driven to extremes by the tsar's attitude. When the natural changes in politics were not allowed to take place legally, they were forced to take place illegally, and so there developed the movement toward revolution. There were three main classes of revolutionary parties in Russia. One of these was composed of the Liberals. The Liberals were mostly members of the middle class — those neither very rich nor very poor — who desired the usual ideals of democracy; such as, a written constitution, a representative parliament, a responsible ministry, and others. The Social Democrats made up the second party. They also adhered to the usual democratic ideals, but in addition they were Marxian Socialists; that is,

B. Parties
1. Liberals

2. Social Democrats

they wanted a revolution in the construction of society by which the proletariat would become the ruling class. The Social Democrats split into two divisions; the Bolsheviki (majority men) led by Lenin, who advocated a political dictatorship; and the Mensheviki (minority men), who believed in peaceful agitation. The third party consisted of the Social Revolutionists. Since these men were the most radical of all, they were naturally divided into overlapping groups. One group was the Nihilists. They were inspired by the Russian novelist Turgeniev to reject " any authority," and to take nothing on faith. They believed that conditions were so bad that destruction itself was a virtue. Another group was the Anarchists led by Bakunin, who said that all established institutions should be destroyed by violence and a new socialistic society established in their place. A third group was the Terrorists. They asserted that, since the existing government ruled by terrorism and allowed no peaceful demand for reform, they were justified in resorting to resistance by terror. They had the right to assassinate corrupt officials, they claimed, for that was only the execution of traitors to society. They secretly organized societies, manufactured bombs, and plotted the assassination of one man after another until finally they killed Alexander II.

3. Social Revolutionists

1881

C. Repression

Terrorism did not succeed. Instead it resulted in a period of greater repression than before. The police were made so terribly efficient by a cold-blooded chief named Von Plehve that before long the revolutionists were exterminated or driven to cover. The new tsar, Alexander III, and his successor, Nicholas II, were both strongly reactionary. The only reforms they were willing to make were of an economic character; for example, permitting the peasants to become owners of their land instead of owning it indirectly through the community.

D. Treatment of subject nationalities

One of the darkest sides of Russian history during this period was the oppressive treatment of the subject nationalities. A deliberate policy of Russification was adopted in the attempt to force them to become Russians. In Poland any official or even semi-official use of the Polish language was forbidden. In Finland this policy was most severe of all. When Finland had been conquered, it had been given autonomy, but now each

year more and more privileges were taken away in the effort to
1899 make it a completely Russian country. The Finnish diet lost
all its powers. The chief offices were given to Russians, and
1901 the Finnish army was abolished. However, this policy, instead of crushing the subject nationalities, only increased their spirit of national patriotism, and the determination to win their independence. This movement, like the Industrial Revolution, was destined to cause revolt in the twentieth century.

VI. Revolution of 1905

A. Agitation

The revolutionary movement in Russia finally came to a head in the Revolution of 1905. The revolution began with agitation caused by the serious defeats which the government suffered in the war with Japan in the previous year. These defeats revealed a sorry condition of incompetence and graft. The public was aroused. Assassinations began again, and one
July, 1904 of those first struck down was the hated Von Plehve. A series
of strikes occurred in which one of the most terrible incidents
Jan. 22, 1905 was Red Sunday. On that day a crowd of thousands of strikers and demonstrators marched to the palace of the tsar with a petition for aid. They were ordered to disperse, and when they refused the soldiers fired upon them. That only aroused them to fury, and while the excited people milled around in front of the palace the soldiers poured volley after volley into their defenseless bodies. Before the day was over the streets were red with the blood of men, women and children. Still the agitation and strikes continued.

B. Concessions

The Revolution caught the government unprepared. Most of the army was far away, and the state had all it could do to fight the war with Japan. Consequently Tsar Nicholas was
Aug., 1905 finally forced to make some concessions including the promise
of a duma; that is, an elected assembly. However, it was so restricted that the revolutionists were not satisfied, and they
Oct., 1905 finally organized a general strike all over Russia of railway
employees and other important workers. This forced the gov-
Oct., 1905 ernment to concede various civil liberties such as freedom of
association.

C. Recovery of government

After making these concessions the government began to recover. The war with Japan was over, and so it could turn all its attention to the situation at home. The classes supporting the government and favoring good order rallied to its support, while the revolutionists on the other hand disintegrated due to differences of opinion. The army was brought back and used with terrible effect to chastise all who were guilty of revolt. In some cases whole villages were burned to the ground. The tsar with his coterie of autocrats was once more in power, and the concessions which he had made were greatly curtailed. Dec., 1905

D. Struggle between tsar and duma

The Revolution of 1905 ended with a struggle between Tsar Nicholas II and the duma. Although the tsar manipulated the elections so that only those who he thought supported him would be elected, the majority of the first duma were opposed to the government. They demanded that various democratic institutions be conceded to them, chiefly a responsible ministry. May-July, 1906 The tsar had no intentions of yielding to them, and after a brief dispute sent them home. Again the elections were manipulated, but nevertheless the second duma was also opposed to the government, and again it was dissolved. March, 1907 However, the government was learning by experience, and the elections for the third duma were so much better controlled that it was quite submissive to the tsar. Nov., 1907 Though year after year the duma continued to meet, it was powerless and worthless.

E. Failure

After the Revolution of 1905 the revolutionary spirit of Russia seemed to collapse completely. Apparently the people were tamed. The subject nationalities were treated with increasing severity. There was little sign of opposition until the fateful year of 1914, when discontent once again reared its head. It was a dangerous time for the government to be confronted by trouble at home, for in that year the World War broke forth, and Russia was soon engaged in a desperate struggle with the Central Powers.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

AUSTRIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. Characteristics in 1815

A. Dominance in Europe

When the Austrian Empire emerged victorious from the Napoleonic Wars, it was marked by three characteristic features. The first of these was a dominant position in European affairs. In diplomacy Austria was the leader of the European Concert. It was Austria that had entertained the nations at the Congress of Vienna; it was Austria that directed the affairs of the Quadruple Alliance; and it was Austria that took the initiative in the diplomatic activities of Europe during the next generation. In extent of territory the Austrian Empire was second only to Russia, and this wide reach of her dominions was rendered all the more significant because it included large districts in three of the important geographical areas of Europe; Italy, Germany and the Balkan peninsula. Consequently this was one of the reasons why Austria dictated to countries in all these different areas. Many of the Italian princes had been given their thrones by the influence of Austria, and after the gift was made she did not hesitate to tell them how to manage their internal affairs. In the German Confederation Austria was the leading member and forced the German states to act in accordance with her wishes. Thus in a sense the period after 1815 was a period of Austrian predominance in Europe.

B. Rule of Metternich

Another characteristic feature of Austria in this period was the rule of Metternich, the prime minister. Metternich was beyond all question one of the greatest statesmen of the time. He had the ability to formulate a policy and to subordinate the details of administration to its accomplishment. He was a diplomat of superlative attainments. By reason of his forceful personality and political shrewdness he was able to establish in Austria, and in the countries to which Austria dictated, a combination of methods for suppressing liberalism commonly known as the Metternich System. This system was applied to the Austrian Empire with rigid severity. The characteristic features of the Old Régime were maintained; such as, feudal services and the aristocratic division of society into privileged and unprivileged classes. In addition, a strict censorship was enforced to keep liberal ideas away from the people. Not only were all books, newspapers and other publications carefully examined, but in addition people were not allowed to travel in foreign countries any more than necessary for fear that there they would acquire democratic ideas. Universities, theatres and societies were closely watched. At the same time amusements were encouraged and business was unhampered. It was only when people took an interest in the forbidden subject of politics that they were restricted. Thus Metternich hoped to protect the country from the contagious influence of the revolutionary ideas that had wrecked France, as he saw it, and brought so much disaster upon Europe. His policy, briefly stated, was to "govern and change nothing."

C. A "polyglot empire"

The third characteristic feature of Austria at the opening of the nineteenth century was the fact that it was a "polyglot empire." The population was made up of many different nationalities distributed in three leading states. The first of these states was Austria proper including Vienna, the capital. In this state Germans, known as the Austrians, were the prevailing race. The second state was Bohemia, the district between the Danube River, the Oder and the Elbe. Its chief city was Prague. The three nationalities that predominated in this district were the Germans, the Czechs and the Slavs. There was a bitter enmity between them which went back into history for hundreds of years. The rivalry usually took a literary and linguistic form, in which the Germans tried to force their language and literature upon the Czechs and the latter retaliated in the same way.

1. Austria proper

2. Bohemia

3. Hungary

The third great state of the Austrian Empire was Hungary. Here the capital city was Budapest and the predominating group was the Magyars. Of the many other peoples the most important were the Rumanians and the South Slavs. The latter were divided chiefly into the Croats and the Serbs. The government was a survival of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It was allowed to retain its own diet and local assemblies. Though this was technically a representative form of government, it was far from democratic, for only the nobles had any real power. The nobles were divided into two classes, the rich and the poor, and of these only the rich had an important part in the government. During the period after 1815 agitation for reform began in the local assemblies and the reformers found two outstanding leaders: Louis Kossuth, a radical, and Francis Déak, a moderate. They made chiefly four demands. They asked that Magyar be made the official language instead of Latin. They also requested that the noble class be abolished. In addition they desired to have a constitutional government established and full autonomy given to the country to manage its own affairs.

4. Absolutism essential

From this brief study of the nationalities of the "polyglot empire" it is evident that one of Austria's chief problems after 1815 was the lack of political unity. Consequently absolutism was forced upon the country because only by an absolute government could all these disunited sections of the Empire be held together. As sure as the ideals of democracy were allowed to creep in, as soon as the people began to desire self-government, the Empire would disintegrate. The problem was made all the more intricate by the fact that the nationalities were not separated geographically but were intermingled and scattered all over the Empire. Consequently even if one section should have been given autonomy, there would still have been within its boundaries subject nationalities that would not have been contented. Metternich, by maintaining a strictly absolute government, gave to the Austrian Empire its only hope of existence, and for thirty-three years after the Congress of Vienna he kept himself in power and kept Austria united.

II. Revolution of 1848

The Revolution of 1848 was the first step in the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. Soon after the news arrived that Louis Philippe had been shaken from his throne in France, a revolution broke forth in Austria. Though it appeared to come suddenly, the way had really been prepared by a decline in the Metternich System. The administration of Austria under Metternich was a confused system of councils and officials in

A. Decline of the Metternich System

which no one had final authority or wanted to take responsibility except the prime minister. As long as Austria possessed a prime minister who was able and forceful enough to dominate this system and cut through its red tape by arbitrary action, it worked well enough. However, as Metternich grew old he also grew indolent. The administrative machinery began to function less perfectly. Emperor Francis II died and was followed by Ferdinand, an emperor of too weak a personality to guide the administration himself. The censorship of the press was relaxed and liberal books began to circulate in all sorts of disguises. Thus, while the government grew inefficient, democratic doctrines penetrated the country and found adherents who only waited for a good opportunity to strike a blow for democracy. When they heard of the French Revolution of 1848, they decided that the opportunity had arrived.

B. Successful revolts

1. Kossuth's speech, March 3, 1848

March 13, 1848

2. Resignation of Metternich

The Revolution of 1848 in Austria was divided into two clearly marked periods. The first was a period of successful revolts. The revolts may be said to have begun with a fiery speech by Kossuth in the Hungarian diet. It was a fervid appeal to all the Austrian states to rise against the Metternich System. Ten days later there were riots in Vienna. Metternich found himself deserted by the emperor and the other ministers. Without even a struggle he resigned and fled to England. Apparently the reason for the ease with which he was overthrown was the fact that he was taken completely by surprise. He was prepared for an attack from without by France, but he did not expect an attack from within by the revolutionists. His resignation completely disorganized the Austrian government. For so long a time the whole administration had depended upon him for the decisions, that now they did not know where to turn. Consequently the revolts succeeded with amazing ease. The emperor was too weak to resist. From without, as well as from within, the Austrian Empire was attacked. The liberal elements revolted in order to gain a more democratic government. The states which Austria had dominated revolted in order to free themselves from her dominance.

3. Hungary

At the same time that Metternich was being driven out of Austria the Hungarian diet sent an address to the emperor asking for various reforms. The emperor granted them, and the diet then took up the task of drafting a constitution. Within two weeks it was completed and approved by the emperor. From the name of the month in which it was composed it became known as the March Laws. It provided for a purely personal union of Austria and Hungary with various democratic institutions in the latter country. Then Hungary embarked upon the difficult task of governing itself.

March 14, 1848

March 31, 1848

4. Bohemia

March 19 and 24, 1848

In the same month of March Bohemia presented a petition and received the grant of various privileges, including the equalization of the Germans and the Czechs. In addition the emperor promised that he would give a constitution to the whole Empire. Apparently the revolution had succeeded easily. As a matter of fact the revolutionists still faced the most difficult part of their task — governing themselves. The race conflict within the boundaries of the different states made this no easy problem. Moreover, the revolutionists failed to realize: that the mere consent of one man, the emperor, was not enough to establish the new régime; that they had caught the conservative classes unprepared; that for the moment the government had been disorganized, but would fight back as soon as it recovered.

C. Recovery of absolutism

1. Bohemia

June 2, 1848

June 12, 1848

June 17, 1848

The second period of the Revolution of 1848 in the Austrian Empire was the recovery of Austria. This began in Bohemia. There the conflict between the Czechs and the Germans at once proved to be a difficulty. The Germans wanted to unite in some way with the German Confederation. The Czechs tried to thwart their plans by calling upon the Slavs for aid and summoning a Pan-Slavic Congress in Prague. While the congress was in session riots broke out. Meanwhile the Austrian army had been put under the command of an experienced general named Windischgrätz. He wisely withdrew his soldiers from the city so that they would escape the revolutionary contagion. When the riots began, he tried in vain to check them, and then, after they had continued for four days, he besieged the city. There was a brief bombardment, martial law was established, and the revolution was ended.

2. South Slav revolt in Hungary

In Hungary, also, the race conflict caused the downfall of the new régime. The South Slavs wanted to gain autonomy for

April 14, 1848
July 11, 1848
Oct. 3, 1848

themselves and the Magyars refused to grant it. However, the emperor appointed as the governor of the provinces in which the South Slavs lived, a violent antagonist of the Magyars named Jellachich. When a revolt broke out among the Slavs against the Hungarian diet, he supported the revolt. The Hungarian diet prepared for war and he retaliated by invading Hungary. At this crucial moment a conflict began in the diet between the moderates and the radicals. The Austrian government seized the opportunity to declare the diet dissolved on account of the disorders.

3. Vienna
Oct. 6, 1848
Oct. 31, 1848
Dec. 2, 1848

This act of dissolution aroused the radicals in Vienna to a sympathetic revolt and they began an insurrection. They forced the emperor to flee and gained possession of the city. At this juncture the government was saved by the army. Windischgrätz marched on Vienna, besieged the city and suppressed the insurrectionists. Then the emperor was compelled to abdicate and the crown was given to his nephew Francis Joseph I. He chose as prime minister a man named Schwarzenberg, who adopted the policies of Metternich and showed himself fully capable of handling the affairs of Austria. Thus Austria and Bohemia completely recovered from the revolution.

4. Defeat of Hungary 1849
March 4, 1849
April 14, 1849
May 1, 1849
Aug. 13, 1849

In Hungary the fight continued, and developed into a bitter civil war. The Hungarians claimed that they were fighting for the rights of the deposed emperor Ferdinand. For two months the Austrians won almost all the victories. On the basis of this success Emperor Francis Joseph issued a new constitution for the whole Empire in which the different provinces were given provincial diets. Then, strange to say, the tide turned and the Hungarians began to win victories. So elated were they by success that they made the serious mistake of issuing a declaration of independence. This was a sad error, because now Russia could be legitimately called upon by the emperor to intervene. The tsar gladly responded to the request. Between the overwhelming allied forces the Hungarians, led by Kossuth, were crushed in spite of their indomitable spirit, and were forced to surrender. All the concessions made to Hungary were taken away and a terrible revenge was inflicted upon the country. Kossuth was fortunate enough to escape. Hundreds of others were not so fortunate. People were executed without mercy and for a decade the land was ruled by military governors.

III. Reaction, 1849–1859

The Revolution of 1848 was followed by a period of reaction. Under the leadership of Schwarzenberg a complete absolutism was restored, and the constitution granted during the revolution was revoked. In international affairs Austria once again asserted the same arrogant dominance that had characterized her policy under Metternich. She interfered in the affairs of Germany by stimulating the suppression of the revolution there and forbidding Prussia to take the lead in German unification. The power of Austria was once more made supreme in Italy, and, when the Crimean War between Russia and the allies threatened to continue indefinitely, it was largely the influence of Austria that brought it to a close by the threat of intervention against Russia.

IV. Founding of Dual monarchy

A. Austro-Sardinian War, 1859

For ten years the reaction was triumphant in Austria. Then there came a series of disastrous events that forced a change in policy. The first of these was the Austro-Sardinian War. The Kingdom of Sardinia (also called Piedmont) made a secret alliance with France, and together they embroiled Austria in a war. Austria was beaten in two battles and forced to surrender Lombardy. The defeat was largely due to the bad condition of Austrian finances, and also to the fact that Hungary, still smarting under the punishment meted out to her, was threatening to attack Austria in the South. It was evident to Francis Joseph that he must give up the policy of holding the Empire together by an absolutism, because democracy was a force too strong longer to be defied. Instead he must try to build up loyalty to the Empire by liberal concessions. Soon after the Austro-Sardinian War he granted a constitution to the Empire which established a system of representative government, but the constitution was a failure. The chief cause for its failure was a nationalist movement in Hungary, led by Déak, which demanded full autonomy. The necessity of granting his demand was proved by the disastrous defeat suffered by Austria in the Austro-Prussian War. It was evident that Austria, now expelled from Italy and Germany, must rely upon

B. Constitution of 1861

C. Austro-Prussian War, 1866

herself and build up a spirit of devotion between her subject states.

D. *Ausgleich,* 1867

1. Provisions

The Austro-Prussian War was closely followed by a famous compromise between Austria and Hungary known as the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) of 1867. By this famous document the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established. It had mainly three provisions. The first was that the two countries should have the same monarch, who should be called King of Hungary and Emperor of Austria. The right to hold this office was vested in the head of the Hapsburg dynasty, and thus Francis Joseph became Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary. Second, the two countries were to be entirely autonomous except for the fact that they had the same monarch, the same flag and the same ministry of war, finance and foreign affairs. This ministry was to be supervised by joint committees from the parliaments of the two countries. Third, they also agreed to make a tariff alliance for a period of ten years, at the end of which time it might be renewed. This was a natural economic relationship, because Hungary was predominantly agricultural while Austria was rapidly becoming industrialized by the Industrial Revolution. Each needed the products of the other. The *Ausgleich* was unquestionably an improvement in the relations of the two countries, but it still left some serious problems. One of these was the result of the fact that the *Ausgleich* really divided the Empire between the two dominant nationalities — the Germans and the Magyars — and left out of account the third important nationality — the Slavs. There were those who claimed that it should not be a dual, but a triple monarchy. And then still others said that all the nationalities should be given autonomy, including the various sub-divisions of the Slavs.

2. Problems

V. Austria, 1867–1914

After the establishment of the *Ausgleich* the development of Austria and Hungary differed so much that their history must be studied separately. In Austria the first important event was the granting of a constitution which gave to the Empire a fully parliamentary government. A parliament, called the *Reichsrath,* and composed of two houses, was given the legislative power. The lower house was elected by a restricted system

A. Constitution

1. *Reichsrath*

of suffrage like that in Prussia. The ministry was technically responsible to the *Reichsrath*. In practice it was controlled by the emperor due to the peculiar political conditions in Austria. The political parties were so numerous and so divided that only a coalition could control a majority. Consequently the emperor took the initiative and was usually able to appoint a coalition ministry favorable to himself. He was also enabled to exercise a large measure of power by a law that when the *Reichsrath* was not in session the emperor could govern by decrees. The army was greatly strengthened by a reorganization based on the Prussian system of universal service. Another important development was a series of religious changes passed in spite of the fact that Austria had always been a strong Roman Catholic country. Complete religious toleration was granted. The control of the public elementary schools was taken away from the church and a state system of education was founded. Civil marriage was made legal.

2. Ministry

3. Emperor

B. Army

C. Religious changes, 1868

The most important feature of the history of Austria was the race conflict. The chief rivalry was between the Germans and the Czechs, and the chief subject in dispute was whether Czech should be given full equality with German as the language of the state, of education, of the courts, and of the army. Sometimes the *Reichsrath* became so violently agitated over the question that a free fight for all would ensue. At one time the emperor had to suspend its sessions for six years and govern by decrees. An attempt was made to solve the problem by establishing universal suffrage in the hope that if all the people were allowed to vote they could settle the matter to please themselves. However, the dispute only became worse, because the political parties continued to organize on racial lines, and even the Socialists were divided into a Czech Socialist party and a German Socialist party. So seriously were the proceedings of the *Reichsrath* hampered that needed reforms in the army were delayed many years. The race conflict was complicated by the fact that foreign countries stirred up their kindred races in the Dual Monarchy to secede and join them. For example, Serbia aimed to annex the South Slavs.

D. Race conflict

1897

Jan. 26, 1907

In Hungary the constitution which was established in the

VI. Hungary, 1867–1914

A. Magyar supremacy

same year as the *Ausgleich* provided for a parliament elected in such a way that it was controlled by the Magyars, who were a minority of the population. This merely added a political supremacy to an economic one, for the Magyars were the landlords of the country and in some cases owned huge estates.

B. Economic progress

1876–1890

During the last half of the century the country made remarkable economic progress both in the improvement of agriculture and in other ways. This was largely due to the work of a prime minister named Tiza, who ruled like a dictator but also reformed the finances of the country and built a splendid system of railways.

C. Independence Party

1897

1907

The most important political development was the movement for complete independence from Austria. For a time this movement was led by Francis Kossuth, the son of the famous Louis Kossuth. One of the methods of this party was to obstruct the renewal of the tariff alliance every time the ten year period expired. At one time its renewal was nearly prevented and the next time it was revised so as to give Hungary a larger share of the revenues. Another aim of the Independence Party was to have the Hungarian and Austrian armies separated. As a step in that direction they demanded that Hungarian be substituted for Austrian as the language of command in Hungarian regiments. To this the emperor resolutely objected, for he saw that it would greatly weaken the effectiveness of the army. When the demand became too strong, he successfully brought the Independence Party to terms by threatening to establish universal suffrage in Hungary and thus give the Slavs equal rights with the Magyars in the government. The Magyars were so anxious to keep their supremacy that they always submitted.

D. Reconciliation movement

After the opening of the twentieth century there was a movement of reconciliation with Austria. This was partly because the subject races were increasing their opposition and the Magyars turned to Austria for support; partly because the hostility of Russia and the Balkan states was growing yearly more menacing. It was evident that a war was coming, and in case of war it was Hungary's best policy to keep close to Austria.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

ITALY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. Condition of Italy, 1815

A. Political division

There were several characteristics of the condition of Italy in 1815 that were similar to those of the Austrian Empire at the same time. One of these characteristics was the lack of unity in the peninsula. In the rich valley of the Po were Lombardy and Venetia, the two large provinces which had been annexed by Austria. Milan was the chief city in Lombardy and Venice in Venetia. West of these two provinces was the Kingdom of Piedmont, also known as Sardinia. South of them were several principalities and the Papal States stretching across the center of the peninsula. The southern part of Italy belonged to the Kingdom of Naples, which was also known as the Two Sicilies because it included the island of Sicily. All of these states had an absolutist form of government. In one sense Italy was only a geographical expression, as Metternich had wished that the Congress of Vienna should make it. At the same time there were several elements of unity that provided the foundations upon which a nation-state might be built. In addition to being united geographically Italy had one race, one language, and a common historical heritage.

B. Dominance of Metternich

A second important characteristic of the condition of Italy in 1815 was the dominance of Metternich. Most of the rulers in the peninsula owed their power largely to him and took their orders from him. His system for the suppression of liberalism was applied almost as strictly in Italy as it was in Austria. Austrian soldiers were maintained throughout the land. Thus his supremacy gave to the Italians a common bond either in submission or in opposition to his rule. It is not strange that under these circumstances a third characteristic condition of Italy was a liberal movement. It grew and spread in spite of everything that Metternich and his minions

C. Liberal movement

could do to stop it. By means of secret propaganda it managed to keep alive in Italy three aims. The first was to achieve political unity. The second was to gain independence from Austria, and the third was to secure a form of government that would be democratic. One of the most active agencies in spreading these ideals was a secret society called the Carbonari; that is, Charcoal Burners. The name was chosen to express the democratic sentiment of equality. All over Italy they plotted and conspired hoping for the day when they could strike a blow for a free and united Italy.

II. Revolution of 1820

A. Naples

The first attempt to break away from the conditions established in Italy by the Congress of Vienna was the Revolution of 1820. The revolt began in Naples. Ferdinand, the King of Naples, was a despotic tyrant who gave his subjects sufficient reason to rebel. This was one reason why the Carbonari were most numerous in Naples. As soon as the news arrived that a revolution in Spain had succeeded in forcing the king to accept a constitution, a company of soldiers demanded a constitution for Naples too. The insurrection spread, and King Ferdinand was frightened into granting a constitution similar to the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Then Metternich took a hand in affairs. He called a congress of the Quadruple Alliance at Troppau near the source of the Vistula. The powers were asked if they were ready to intervene in Naples, and, though France and England objected, Russia and Prussia agreed to support Austria in restoring absolute government. Another congress was held at Laibach near the Adriatic and Ferdinand was invited to come. Although the constitution forbade him to leave the country, he gained permission to go by agreeing to argue for a constitutional government. Then, when he was safely under the protection of Metternich, he accepted the aid of the Austrian soldiers and was restored 1821 to absolute power. The revolutionists, who had unwisely trusted him, were severely punished. Meanwhile the revolution had spread to Piedmont. There the revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and war against 1821 Austria. King Victor Emmanuel I was unwilling to grant these demands so he abdicated in favor of his heir Charles

B. Piedmont

March 13, 1821

Felix. The latter, however, happened to be absent from the kingdom at the moment and the next in line, Charles Albert, was made regent. Charles Albert was a liberally minded ruler, and he granted the revolutionists the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Charles Felix, on the other hand, was an absolutist. As soon as he could he annulled the constitution and ordered Charles Albert to leave the country. Then with the help of Austrian troops he subdued the revolutionists and regained absolute power.

III. Revolution of 1831

When the Revolution of 1830 in France forced Charles X to abdicate and gave the throne to Louis Philippe, the liberals all over Europe were encouraged to revolt. There were revolutions in Belgium, in Poland and also in Italy. This time it

A. Bad conditions

was the Papal States that rose against their ruler. The Papal States had good reason to revolt because the pope was one of the most inefficient monarchs in Europe. His administration was corrupt, his finances were deplorable and his police system was so inefficient that brigandage prevailed all over his do-

B. Revolt

minions. The revolutionists hoped that Louis Philippe would intervene to help them, but they were sadly disappointed. Louis Philippe was far from secure upon his new throne and his ministers announced that the blood of the French was for France alone. No help was sent to the revolutionists and

C. Suppression

they were easily suppressed by the Austrian troops. However, the concert of powers then united in writing a letter to the pope urging him to reform his government lest he cultivate a center for justifiable revolt. They received in return neither a response nor obedience.

IV. Democratic movement in Italy

Although the revolutions in 1820 and 1831 had failed, the democratic movement in Italy continued to progress. One of the most important elements in the movement was a revolu-

A. Young Italy

tionary society called Young Italy organized by a daring patriot named Mazzini. Mazzini was an inhabitant of Genoa.

1. Mazzini

While still a boy he was so fired with the spirit of patriotism for Italy that he resolved always to wear black in mourning for her misery, and at the age of sixteen he was deeply impressed by the sight of some refugees from the revolution in

1831

Piedmont. When Charles Albert finally ascended the throne of that country, Mazzini wrote him a fiery letter telling him to put himself at the head of the movement for Italian freedom, for he must choose between being either the first of Italian men or the last of Italian tyrants. The Austrian authorities grew suspicious of him and he was imprisoned on the ground that he took solitary walks at night and did not tell his thoughts. Then he was banished, and most of the rest of his life was spent in exile. In London he found a refuge from his enemies and from that center he directed the movements of his followers, returning to Italy in times of revolution, when it was safe to do so. He was a gifted writer, a soul born to be a martyr, and a reckless radical. The society of Young Italy which he founded was limited to men under forty years of age. 1831 It had three main ideals. 2. Three ideals The first was to expel Austria from Italy, for in Austria they saw the greatest foe of Italian political unity. Their second aim was to erect a republic, for to them that was the only satisfactory form of government. Their third ideal was to accomplish their purpose without calling upon any foreign power for assistance, for they believed that a foreign power would either fail them or demand too high a price for its services. 3. Methods To accomplish these aims they resorted mainly to propaganda, insurrection and even assassination. Several insurrections were attempted, but they all failed because the difficulties were too great.

B. *Risorgimento*

Another important element in the democratic movement was a literary revival of enthusiasm for a free, united Italy. This literary revival was known as the *Risorgimento* (resurrection). One writer after another published a book in which he told how Italy was to gain freedom and what kind of government would be the best. They differed widely on these subjects, but that was not so important as the fact that their writings led more people to believe in a free, united Italy.

C. Theories of reorganization for Italy

During the progress of the movement three different theories were advanced for the reorganization of Italy. One was that Italy should be a federation headed by the pope in which each state should have a large share of autonomy, as in the United States. Another was that Italy should be a monarchy, and that the most suitable person for king was the King of Piedmont.

Still a third theory was that Italy should be a republic, with neither pope nor king but a president as its chief executive.

D. Characteristics

The movement for Italian unity had certain general characteristics which help to explain both its successes and its failures. It was predominantly sentimental. The revolutionists were fond of fine words, fervid phrases and glittering speeches. They were easily excited and easily depressed. Another characteristic was their love for conspiracy. Lord Byron said that they were like a crooked gun, good only for shooting around corners. They cared more for concocting plots than making plans. Far too often the chief weakness of their insurrections was a lack of careful organization and steady perseverance. One of the worst characteristics of the movement was a tendency to disagreement and jealousy. Often the revolutionists ruined their chances of achieving anything because each was too insistent upon accomplishing his own peculiar ideas. The struggle for unity was really a training in working together, and the main reason they did not gain unity in government sooner was because they did not have unity in their minds.

V. Revolution of 1848

Jan., 1848

A. Beginnings

The next great effort for freedom came in the Revolution of 1848. This revolution had its beginnings in the Sicilian town of Palermo where an uprising frightened the King of Naples into granting a constitution. Then constitutions were granted in some of the other states of Italy. This alarmed Metternich and he increased the number of Austrian troops stationed in the peninsula. Thus revolution was already beginning to show its head when there arrived in quick succession the news that the French had revolted in Paris and then that Metternich had been overthrown in Vienna. With that the enthusiasm of the Italian revolutionists broke loose. It seemed as if the moment for which they had been waiting had arrived. Riots broke out in Milan and the Austrian general Radetzky was forced to retire from the city. Venice revolted and reëstablished its ancient republic. In Turin, the capital of Piedmont, crowds gathered demanding war on Austria, and though there was no just cause for war, Charles Albert granted their wish. He put himself at the head of the army and to his aid came troops from practically all the Italian states. Radetzky was out-

B. Spread

March 18, 1848

March 22, 1848

March 24, 1848

numbered and forced to retire to a strong group of fortresses known as the Quadrilateral. Apparently Italy's day of liberation had come.

C. Collapse

1. Defeat of Piedmont

Then, as in Austria, the revolutionary movement collapsed. One reason was because Charles Albert was a poor general. He lacked energy and decision. Besides, the troops from other states often refused to obey his orders. In some cases the rulers of the other states had been forced against their will to join in the revolution, and as soon as they felt able to resist the movement they recalled their troops. Naples was the first to order its soldiers to return home. Meanwhile Radetzky was so strongly intrenched that a force many times the size of the Italian army could not have defeated him. He could afford to wait, while every day meant a weakening of Charles Albert's army. Finally Radetzky sallied forth and defeated Charles in the battle of Custozza so badly that the latter asked for an armistice. When the people of Milan heard of it, a mob gathered and tried to kill him in spite of his services to Italy. The armistice was granted and Charles Albert retired to Piedmont.

July 23–25, 1848

Aug. 9, 1848

2. Roman Republic Sept., 1848

Meanwhile the city of Rome was in a state of almost constant disorder. The pope tried to improve conditions by appointing as his minister a man named Rossi. Rossi adopted a moderate policy of reform which lasted for only two months, because he antagonized the radicals so much that they assassinated him. Then the pope fled from the city, and after some months of deliberation the revolutionists declared that the Roman Republic was reëstablished. Mazzini was head of the Republic and its chief general was a romantic hero named Garibaldi. Years before this Garibaldi had been forced to flee from Italy to South America. There he fought as a mercenary leader and trained a band of Italians called the Legion with the idea that some day they would fight for the freedom of Italy. The Legion's costume consisted of a red shirt, plumed hat, full beard and long, flowing black hair. For Garibaldi the Roman Republic was only one episode in a roving life of romantic adventure. France came to the rescue of the pope, and Garibaldi with his red shirts was defeated. While he and Mazzini escaped, the Roman Republic collapsed.

Nov. 15, 1848

Feb. 5, 1849

June 30, 1849

3. Novara, March 23, 1849

Meanwhile Charles Albert made the mistake of renewing the war with Austria and was completely defeated by Radetzky at Novara. In order to spare Piedmont he abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II and the latter made peace. The Revolution of 1848 finally came to an end with the surrender of Venice. Then there was a reaction in which the Austrians and the absolute rulers took a terrible revenge.

4. Fall of Venice, Aug. 24, 1849

5. Reaction

VI. Unification of Italy

A. Regeneration of Piedmont

1. Victor Emmanuel

In spite of the fact that Piedmont was so completely defeated in the Revolution of 1848, it was in that country that the hope of Italian unification rested. This was because the revolution was followed by a regeneration in Piedmont. The regeneration was due chiefly to the work of two men. The first of these was King Victor Emmanuel II. Victor Emmanuel was a gifted soldier. He was also a man of tremendous energy. In his government were many good councilors and he was wise enough to pay heed to their advice. One of his greatest gifts was a talent for popularity. Even people who were jealous of Piedmont glorified Victor Emmanuel and were ready to follow his leadership.

2. Cavour

The other man who was chiefly responsible for the regeneration of Piedmont was Cavour. Cavour was a nobleman by birth. In personal appearance he was handicapped, for he was short, stout, and careless in his dress. Nevertheless, he had an insatiable ambition to rise to the top in the world of politics. As a preparation for such a career he traveled through the countries of Europe observing their governments. The workings of the British parliament were especially interesting to him. He showed his talents as an organizer by revolutionizing the mode of agriculture on his estates until they were far more profitable than before. To initiate his political career he founded a newspaper called *Il Risorgimento* in which he advocated all kinds of reforms. Soon afterwards he was elected to parliament, then made a minister, and finally given the office of prime minister. Briefly stated, his policy was to free Italy, to unite it under the leadership of Piedmont, and to do it by making Piedmont a leading European nation. In order to prove to Europe that Piedmont was an exceptionally well governed state he undertook an extensive program of ad-

1847

1848

1852

3. Reforms

ministrative reforms and advertised them widely. Roads, education, industry, commerce and agriculture were all greatly improved. The National Society was founded for the purpose of spreading propaganda in Italy to win the loyalty of the Italians to the idea that Italy should be unified around Piedmont with Victor Emmanuel as the new king. Cavour knew well the value of publicity.

B. Crimean War, 1854–1856

One of his chief accomplishments was the organization of a small but thoroughly efficient army that would redeem the military reputation of Piedmont, and he advertised it by joining with Great Britain and France in the Crimean War. Another purpose behind his action was to gain allies for Piedmont. His scheme succeeded, for by the intervention of Napoleon III he was admitted to the Congress of Paris, 1856, and even against the wishes of Austria he was allowed to make a speech in which he placed the question of Italy before the powers of Europe. This was a diplomatic defeat for Austria, and it placed Cavour among the leading diplomats of the time.

C. Austro-Sardinian War, 1859

July 21, 1858

The friendly relations begun with France during the Crimean War were gradually developed by Cavour into a secret alliance. By this alliance Napoleon agreed to come to the aid of Piedmont, if she were attacked by Austria, and Cavour agreed to reward him with Nice and Savoy. Cavour's next move was to irritate Austria until she would attack Piedmont. During the next winter it became evident that war was impending, and by the intercession of the powers a congress was arranged to settle matters peaceably. However, Austria refused to attend unless Piedmont would first reduce her army to a peace footing, and even sent her an ultimatum to that effect. Piedmont made no response. Then Austria declared war and thus began the Austro-Sardinian War, 1859. At first all went as planned. France came to the aid of Piedmont and the Austrians were defeated in two hard-fought battles. Then, to the surprise of everybody Napoleon suddenly made an armistice with Austria at Villafranca by which they agreed, first, that Lombardy should be ceded to Piedmont, and, second, that the Italian states should be organized in a federation under the pope. Cavour was terribly disappointed. He urged the king to re-

April, 1859

June, 1859

July 11, 1859

ject the armistice, but Victor Emmanuel wisely decided to make the best of the situation, and so Cavour resigned. The diplomats met at Zürich to put the treaty of peace in final form, and, while they were talking, events occurred that destroyed its second provision. Four of the states in central Italy (Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Romagna) expelled their rulers and asked to be annexed to Piedmont. Cavour was recalled and arranged a compromise with Napoleon. By this compromise they agreed to let the states be annexed, after a plebiscite had approved it, upon condition that Piedmont would let her territories of Nice and Savoy join France in the same way.

D. Annexations

E. Conquest of Sicily, 1860

In the next year after the Austro-Sardinian War a revolution broke out in Sicily against the government of Naples. Garibaldi hastened to organize an expedition in Piedmont to go to their aid. Cavour objected, partly because Piedmont was at peace with Naples, and partly because he thought it was a wild scheme with no chance of success. Nevertheless public opinion was so strong in Garibaldi's favor that he had to let him go. With a thousand men Garibaldi landed in Sicily and began a fight that astonished the world. In battle after battle he defeated his opponents. Then he crossed over to the mainland and crushed the Neapolitan army. Many of the soldiers deserted to his forces and in a few weeks he had conquered all of Naples. From there he planned to go on to Rome and Venice. At this point Piedmont intervened, because Rome was occupied by a French garrison and Cavour did not want trouble with France. Garibaldi was sent home in glory and the army of Piedmont completed the conquest of all of the peninsula except the city of Rome and the province of Venetia. On February 18, 1861, the first Italian parliament was held and Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy. Freedom and unity had been achieved. Unfortunately, Cavour, the man who had done more than anybody else to achieve them, lived only a few months longer to enjoy the rewards of his labor.

May-June, 1860

Sept. 7, 1860

F. Kingdom of Italy

d. June 5, 1861

VII. Kingdom of Italy, 1861–1914

The history of the Kingdom of Italy from the time of its establishment until the World War lacked all of the brilliant glory that attended its unification. Two more areas that naturally belonged to Italy were conquered, but there was little of

A. Conquests

1. Venetia, 1866

2. Rome, Sept., 1870

1871

merit in the way it was done. The first of these areas was taken during the Austro-Prussian War, 1866, when Italy attacked Austria. The incompetent Italian general was ignominiously defeated, and only the intercession of victorious Prussia gained for Italy the land of Venetia. Again, while France was engaged in the Franco-Prussian War, Italy seized the opportunity to occupy Rome, and later it was made the capital of the kingdom.

B. Political problems

The Kingdom of Italy was troubled by many serious political problems. On paper a united kingdom existed with a constitution that gave it a fully parliamentary government. In reality the Italians had little of the feeling of unity and loyalty that comes only with tradition. For years the finances were in bad condition and the government was full of corruption, graft and incompetence. As a consequence socialism made progress in the country and the Socialists became the only well-organized party.

C. Industrial progress

Economic problems also presented difficulties for the new nation, because Italy lacked the two essentials for modern industrial progress: coal and iron. However, this difficulty was partially overcome by importing these commodities and by the development of electrical power from the rivers in the north. In the production of silk, cotton and chemicals Italy became one of the leading nations of the world, but still there was not enough industrial activity to occupy her population, and large numbers emigrated to other countries.

D. Quarrel with the pope

May 13, 1871

The attitude of the papacy was another thorn in the side of Italy, because the pope felt that he had been robbed of his possessions, and refused to recognize the new kingdom. The government tried to placate him by offering him various privileges; for instance, a large annuity, the sovereignty of a few places like his palace of the Vatican, and the right to an independent court. He refused to accept them, because they involved a recognition of the new state, and in protest refused to leave his palace, thus gaining the name of the " Prisoner of the Vatican."

E. Educational progress

In education Italy was far behind the chief powers of Europe. In some sections ninety per cent of the people were illiterate. A law was passed to make education compulsory, but it was not enforced, and it was only after the opening of the twentieth century that a better law was passed and better enforcement secured. Then gradually illiteracy declined.

F. Colonial progress

Like the other European nations Italy felt the need of colonies and entered upon a grandiose scheme of making the Mediterranean an Italian lake. The cost of acquiring colonies and of subduing the natives was a terrific drain upon the finances of the country. One of the chief areas of activity was in Africa, where the most important colony was Tripoli, taken from the Ottoman Empire. Another section which Italy hoped to acquire was the northeastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. This was called *Italia Irredenta* (Italy unredeemed), and Italy claimed it on the ground that the inhabitants were mostly Italians.

1912

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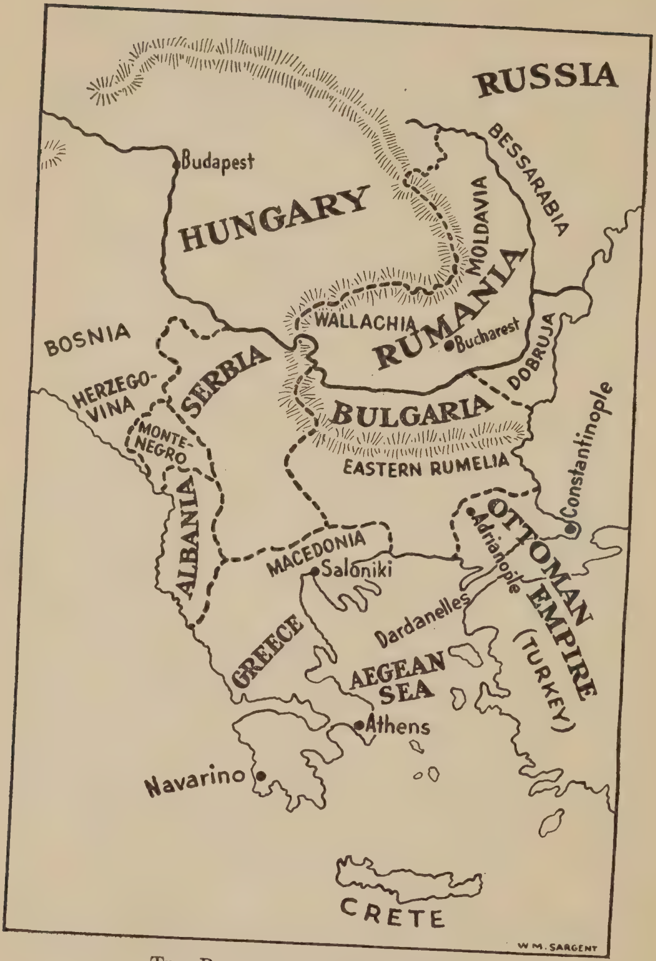
RUSSIA
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WALLACHIA
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SERBIA
DOBRUJA
BULGARIA
MONTE-NEGRO
EASTERN RUMELIA
Constantinople
ALBANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE (TURKEY)
Adrianople
MACEDONIA
Saloniki
Dardanelles
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
Athens
Navarino
CRETE
W M. SARGENT

THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

CHAPTER XL

THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

I. Balkan Question

When the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, 1815, attempted to make a reconstruction of Europe, they completely ignored one question which was destined to be one of the chief causes of war during the nineteenth century: the Question of the Balkans. The Balkan Question was only part of a still larger problem, the Question of the Near East. Broadly speaking the Near East means Southwestern Asia, Northern Africa and the Balkan peninsula. The question of what should be done with the Near East was so complicated and difficult that the Congress of Vienna avoided it, but that did not remove the problem, and throughout the next century the powers vainly tried to work out a solution.

A. Decay of Ottoman Empire

One fundamental aspect of the question was the decay of the Ottoman Empire. This decay began when the Turks failed to take Vienna in 1683. Slowly the decline continued until when Russia took away the Crimean peninsula it was evident 1792 that the Ottoman Empire was practically defenseless against the strong powers of Europe. Napoleon realized this and demonstrated it by his easy victories in Egypt. All that prevented him from conquering the Empire was the intervention of Great Britain. There were many causes for this decay. The government of the Turks was inefficient. Only Mohammedans were allowed to have a part in it. The conquered nationalities were not assimilated, and while they were submissive they retained all their separate characteristics. This made it easy for them to separate from the Turks when the time came. The most important cause was the appearance of new forces in the nineteenth century attacking the stability of the Empire. With these new forces the old organization was quite unable to cope. Consequently the question was whether the concert of powers should try to keep the Ottoman Empire intact, or whether they should allow it to be partitioned as Poland had been partitioned.

B. Growth of national consciousness in the Balkans

1. Nationalities

One of the new forces which attacked the Ottoman Empire was the growth of national consciousness in the Balkans. The Ottoman Empire possessed in 1815 the Balkan peninsula south of the Austrian Empire. Within this area were several territories inhabited by various groups of peoples that developed into nationalities. One was Greece. Just north of Greece on the shore of the Adriatic Sea was Albania, and north of that Montenegro. Still farther north was Herzegovina and then Bosnia. East of Bosnia and south of the Danube River was Serbia. East of Serbia was Bulgaria. South of Serbia was Macedonia and south of Bulgaria was Roumelia. North of the Danube River, between it and the Carpathian Mountains were two provinces: Wallachia and Moldavia. They were often together called Rumania. In order to understand the Balkan problem it is essential to know the names of these districts and where each was located. Each of them developed into a state, or combined with one of the others to make a state, as the desire for self-government grew stronger within them. The procedure by which they obtained self-government during the nineteenth century usually moved by two stages. First, they secured autonomy, that is the right to govern themselves as part of the Ottoman Empire, and then they gained complete independence. As soon as they showed the tendency to develop into states the question arose: Shall the Balkan states be allowed to develop or shall they be forced to remain a part of the Ottoman Empire? This was the second important part of the Balkan Question.

2. Procedure

C. Intermingled nationalities

The Balkan Question involved the problem of the intermingling of the nationalities in the peninsula. Strictly speaking, the Balkan nationalities were the Turks, the Greeks, the Rumanians, the Albanians and the Slavs. Each of these spoke a different type of language. The Slavs were still further divided into Serbs, Bulgars, Montenegrins and Bosnians. It was enough of a problem that there were so many different nationalities in such a small area, but it was made worse by the fact that they were intermingled, so that while one of them might predominate in a certain area, there were also large groups of peoples from other nationalities in the same area. Thus it was impossible to draw boundaries between them geographically. Yet as each nationality tried to gain self-government this was what they attempted to do.

D. Rivalry of Balkan states

The rivalry of the Balkan states as they developed formed another serious aspect of the question. The territories which each of them wanted overlapped. Some of them had no ports and so they tried to acquire a seacoast. In addition the desire to incorporate within their boundaries kindred ethnic groups that were within the boundaries of other nations caused rivalry.

E. Interference of European powers

The Balkan Question was still further complicated by the constant interference of the European powers. Sometimes they interfered to seize territory, as when Austria took Bosnia. Sometimes their purpose was to maintain the balance of power by keeping states from grasping territory, and especially were they anxious that no one state should gain the chief prize of Constantinople. Constantly they told the Balkan states how to manage their internal affairs, even after they became independent nations. Often they refused to let one of the states expand its territory, though the expansion happened to be a natural one. This often harmful meddling was caused by the fact that each European power had its own policy in the Near East. England, for instance, wanted to keep the Ottoman Empire intact as a buffer between her Asiatic possessions and Russia. Russia, on the other hand, wanted to gain control of the passage through the Dardanelles so that she would have an outlet to the sea. Austria was anxious to keep the Slavs within her Empire from breaking away and joining the Slavs in the Balkans. Later on Germany conceived the project of a Middle Europe extending her control through the Balkans to Bagdad. All of these policies conflicted with each other and had their minute complications.

After studying these aspects of the Balkan Question it is easy to understand why it was one of the chief causes for war in the nineteenth century. The history of the rise of the Balkan states is a story filled with misery and horror. There were terrible massacres in which dozens of men and women were pierced with stakes and their bodies stuck up by the roadside to rot. Almost every time that a serious conflict broke forth in the Balkans it involved some of the European nations in war. Consequently, the history of the Balkans is a very important part of the history of the nineteenth century.

II. First revolts

A. Montenegro, 1799

The first of the Balkan states to break away from the Ottoman Empire was Montenegro. At the time of the French Revolution it won its independence, although it was not completely recognized for nearly eighty years. The next state to revolt was Serbia. While Turkey was engaged in a war with Russia the Serbians seized the opportunity to rebel, and after several years of varied success and failure the Prince of Serbia gained practical autonomy soon after the Congress of Vienna.

B. Serbia 1804

III. Greek War for Independence, 1821–1829

A. Causes

The first Balkan war in which the European states became generally involved was the Greek war for independence. During the last part of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth the ancient country of Greece experienced a revival of prosperity. Commerce expanded and wealth increased. Politically Greece was semi-independent of the Ottoman Empire, because the Turkish population was small and in some sections the Greeks were even governed by Christian rulers. A secret society was organized called the Society of Friends (*Hetairia Philike*) which aimed at a revolution to free Greece from the Turks. It hoped for the support of all the Balkan peoples and especially of Russia.

B. First period; Greek revolt

1821

1824

1825

The success of the Spanish Revolution of 1820 encouraged the Greeks, and in the next year the first period of the war started with an invasion of Rumania. The invasion failed because the Rumanians hated the Greeks, but soon afterwards the revolt of one of the Mohammedan governors offered a new opportunity, and there was a rising in Greece. It was a war of extermination. Both sides massacred men, women and children. Gradually the Turks were completely driven out of Greece until the sultan was practically defeated. Then he purchased the assistance of the ruler of Egypt, Mohammed Ali. This progressive prince had developed a modern army and navy, and with their help the Turks recovered all that they had lost. Finally Athens was captured and all effective resistance was at an end. July, 1827

C. Second period; foreign intervention

Then a second period of the war began in which Russia, France and England intervened. There were two main causes for their intervention. One was sympathy with the Greeks. The Russians sympathized with them because they were of the same Greek Orthodox religion. France and England sympathized because they idealized ancient Greece and admired the gallant struggle of the modern Greeks for independence. The second cause for their intervention was imperialism; that is, the desire for territory. Russia wanted to gain the Dardanelles, and the other two powers were afraid that she would do so, if she were allowed to intervene alone. Consequently England and France sent a fleet to the port of Navarino and demanded that the sultan make Greece autonomous. The sultan refused, and meanwhile a battle accidentally occurred at Navarino in which the Egyptian fleet was destroyed. Oct. 20, 1827 Then the sultan declared war. France conquered most of Greece and Russia seized Adrianople, a fortress so important that it was impossible to defend Constantinople after it had fallen. 1828 1829 Thus the sultan was forced to make peace by the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829.

D. Treaty of Adrianople, Sept. 14, 1829

The Treaty of Adrianople was the first attempt by the European powers to settle the Balkan Question. The Ottoman Empire agreed to recognize the autonomy of Serbia, and did so in the next year. Wallachia and Moldavia were also given more self-government. Russia was given some territory south of the Caucasus Mountains, an indemnity, and the freedom of the Dardanelles while at peace with Turkey. It also provided that Greece should be independent under a temporary European protectorate to complete the establishment of the new government. However, the northern boundary was drawn halfway up the Greek peninsula, and that was only part of the territory inhabited by Greeks. After several years of anarchy, a Bavarian nobleman was found who was willing to be King of Greece, and was crowned Otto I. 1833

The next important crisis in the Near East was the Crimean War, brought on by the failure of the Sultan to reform his state

IV. Treaty of Paris, 1856

and the determination of Russia that the time had come to partition it. The war finally ended in the Treaty of Paris, 1856, by which the powers tried to settle one part of the question but

A. Provisions

ignored the rest almost completely. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed in spite of the fact that it was in an evident state of decay. In addition autonomy was given to Wallachia and Moldavia. This provision failed to recognize that the two provinces were inhabited by people of the same race and thus made the mistake of separating them.

B. Unification of Rumania

Soon after the treaty was signed a strong unionist movement began in Wallachia and Moldavia which was supported by England and France, but opposed by Austria. A few years later the unionists elected a man named Couza as prince of both countries, and thus achieved practical unity. Soon afterwards the union was recognized by the powers. The united country took the name of Rumania, and Couza was declared ruler with the name of Alexander John I. He was an enlightened prince who tried to encourage peasant ownership of land, and took away lands from the monasteries. This of course made enemies and he was forced to abdicate. He was followed by Carol I who established an aristocratic constitution. In addition the army was reorganized on the German model and made efficient. The other provisions of the Treaty of Paris endured little better than the one that tried to separate Wallachia and Moldavia. The clause that made the Black Sea a neutral zone was repudiated by Russia during the Franco-Prussian War, and the promise by the sultan that he would reform his government, especially in its treatment of Christians, was not kept.

1859

1862

1865

C. Violations of the treaty

1870

V. Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878

A. Causes

The failure of the sultan to keep this promise was one cause of the Russo-Turkish War and the next advance of the Balkan nationalities toward statehood. The peasants in Herzegovina were so heavily oppressed by taxes that they rose in revolt. This was taken as a signal by four of the other provinces, Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, to declare war on the Ottoman Empire. They were defeated by the Turks, and the Bulgarians were punished by massacres in which thousands of people were slaughtered ferociously. The European

1875

1875–1876

powers tried to mediate, but the sultan cleverly fooled them by granting to his Empire a constitution which he abolished as soon as the excitement was over. Finally Russia intervened to help the oppressed people and force the sultan to make reforms. In the Russo-Turkish War which followed, Russia was joined by Rumania, the Turks were easily defeated, and the sultan was forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. This treaty created a large autonomous province of Bulgaria under a Russian protectorate. It also forced Rumania to return to Russia the southern part of Bessarabia bordering on the Danube, and take the desolate province of Dobruja south of the Danube instead. This was a poor return for the valuable assistance which Rumania had rendered to Russia during the war. Bosnia and Herzegovina were rewarded with autonomy, while Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were given independence. Unfortunately, this treaty, which had many merits, satisfied nobody but Bulgaria and Russia.

B. Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

England was especially displeased, and supported by Austria and Prussia forced Russia to submit the whole settlement to a European congress. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, drawn up by the Congress of Berlin, which resulted, was no more successful in its solution of the Balkan problems than its predecessors. While Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were given independence, as in the Treaty of San Stefano, Rumania was forced to keep Dobruja. Greece was promised an extension of her boundary. Bulgaria retained her autonomy, but the territory given her was greatly reduced in size and she was put under a European protectorate. Another autonomous province was created to the south called Eastern Rumelia. Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied and administered by Austria. Though this arrangement pleased Austria and England better, it was a bitter disappointment to Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Russia. They anxiously awaited the day when they could avenge themselves, and the Balkan Question was just as serious as before.

C. Treaty of Berlin, 1878

During the period following the Congress of Berlin four of the Balkan states had an important development. First, Ru-

VI. Development of the four Balkan states

A. Rumania

mania declared itself a kingdom and gave the title of king to Carol I. His reign was marked by increasing prosperity and by an improvement in the condition of the peasants. His wife, Carmen Sylvia, was an author of high ability who did much to stimulate Rumanian nationalism by her poetry and other writings. Still Rumania was dissatisfied with her position. She wanted to regain the portion of Bessarabia which she had lost in 1878 and also to add to her population the Rumanians in Hungary.

B. Bulgaria

Bulgaria, out of gratitude to Russia, chose as her prince, Alexander I, a relative of the tsar. Most of the important officials were Russians, but they were so high-handed that the 1883 Bulgarians drove them out. A strong movement began for union with Eastern Roumelia, since the inhabitants were 1885 mostly Bulgarians, and after a few years it was annexed. This offended the tsar, because it was done without consulting him; and it displeased Serbia because it increased the power of Bul- 1886 garia. Serbia declared war, was defeated, and the union of the two provinces was recognized by the sultan. However, the Aug., 1886 tsar forced Alexander to abdicate, and his place was taken by a prince named Ferdinand. During the first part of his reign the outstanding personality was Stambulov, the Bismarck of Bulgaria, who started the country on the road to prosperity by his forceful methods. Bulgaria too was not content. She aimed to acquire more territory in Macedonia and a share of the Aegean coast.

C. Serbia

Serbia suffered for many years after the Congress of Berlin 1882 from bad government. Though the country was proclaimed a kingdom, the kings were incompetent and immoral. The defeat by Bulgaria hurt her prestige. Finally Peter I, a better type of monarch, came to the throne and prosperity began. Serbia, like the other countries, wanted to expand. She wanted seaports on the Adriatic and the Aegean. She wanted to add to her population the kindred Slavs in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro.

D. Greece

Greece suffered from a long relapse after the gallant struggle for independence. The country was weakened by poverty and rent by political strife. Yet there was slow progress. A fully constitutional government was established by the influence of England, and more territory was acquired by the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. Then Greece made the mistake of going to war with the Ottoman Empire in the effort to annex Crete, and was defeated. Finally a Cretan statesman named Venizelos was made prime minister and with that Greece found her Bismarck. Greece, too, wanted to extend her boundaries, aiming to include the Greeks along the northern and eastern coasts of the Aegean as well as in most of the islands.

1844

1897

VII. Turkish Revolution, 1908

The next great crisis in the affairs of the Balkans was the Turkish Revolution of 1908. The sultan who ruled the Ottoman Empire during and after the Russo-Turkish War was Abdul Hamid II. He was a completely absolute monarch who made his absolutism worse by ignorance, wickedness and a refusal to introduce any kind of modern reforms into his inefficient government. One example of his cruelty was the attempt to exterminate the Armenians by hideous massacres because they refused to pay taxes. Finally a party, commonly known as the Young Turks, secretly organized a revolution by spreading propaganda among the army until it was completely under their control. Then they demanded that Abdul grant a constitution, and he was forced to consent. The revolution was greeted with enthusiastic rejoicing all over the Empire. However, the Young Turks were strongly nationalistic, and they began a policy of Turkification that was very unwelcome to the subject nationalities. They even perpetrated another massacre of the Armenians. While they were putting themselves in power, two of the Balkan states were lost. Bulgaria declared its independence, and Bosnia was annexed by Austria along with the smaller province of Herzegovina. Serbia was very angry to see Austria gain these two provinces, because they were inhabited by a kindred race to the Serbs. She therefore protested, and Russia supported her. However, since Russia had previously made a secret agreement with Austria that Austria was to take the provinces, if Russia was allowed to open the Dardanelles to her warships, Russia had little right to protest and gained nothing by it.

A. Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909)

1894 ff.

B. Young Turks

C. Revolution, July, 1908

1909

D. Bulgaria declares independence

E. Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed by Austria

During the next four years there was a very important de-

VIII. Balkan Wars

A. Alliance

1912

B. First Balkan War, 1912–1913

May, 1913

velopment in the Balkan situation. A secret alliance was formed of the Balkan states against Turkey. At about the same time Italy seized Tripoli and Rhodes, which showed that the Ottoman Empire was too weak to protect itself. Encouraged by this the states of Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece declared war on Turkey at the same time that peace was signed with Italy. To the surprise of everybody they gained a series of brilliant victories, and the Turkish army collapsed. Then the powers intervened and tried to mediate, but their mediation was spoiled when a belligerent party gained control of the Ottoman government and renewed the war. Again the Turks lost. In a short time all the important Turk fortresses were taken, including Adrianople, and the Ottoman Empire was forced to make a peace known as the Peace of London.

C. Second Balkan War, 1913

June, 1913

However, the powers of Europe again meddled, and consequently the Peace of London was not satisfactory. Serbia was not satisfied, because she wanted a port on the Adriatic and instead Austria forced the establishment of the autonomous state of Albania between her and the sea. Shut off from the sea in that direction, Serbia demanded an outlet through Macedonia. Bulgaria, rather than let her gain it, tried to seize the important port of Saloniki. That renewed the war — this time between Bulgaria on one side and the Greeks, Serbs, Rumanians and Turks on the other. The fighting was marked by the usual atrocious brutality of Balkan wars, and Bulgaria was soon defeated. The result was the Treaty of Bucharest by which the Ottoman Empire regained Adrianople and the territory between it and Constantinople. Greece gained Southern Macedonia, Crete and the Aegean islands. Serbia was awarded part of Macedonia. Rumania was ceded a strip of territory along the northern border of Bulgaria that gave her a better outlet to the sea. None of the Balkan states was satisfied with the treaty in spite of the fact that they had all gained territory at the expense of Turkey. All of them wanted still more than they had gained, and felt that other states had taken land which rightfully they themselves should possess.

The history of the rise of the Balkan states in the nineteenth

IX. Failure to solve the Balkan Question

century leaves one evident conclusion: the powers of Europe had failed to solve the Balkan Question, as well as the larger Question of the Near East. In every event in the Balkans lurked danger to the peace of Europe. That danger was even greater in 1913 than it was in 1815. The attempt to maintain the integrity of Turkey had failed. The policy of hampering the development of the Balkan states had failed. The interference of the powers with the settlements made by the Balkan states for themselves had only resulted in settlements still more unsatisfactory. The Balkan Question was more dangerous than ever.

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CHAPTER XLI

SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN RECENT TIMES

I. General features of scientific development

A. Extension

1. New sciences

In recent times the history of science has become such a vast subject that one of the best ways to gain a brief survey of it is to notice first some of the general features of scientific development. One general feature has been the great extension of science — the broadening of its scope and activities. A large number of new sciences arose in the nineteenth century. One of these was psychology, the study of the mind. This became largely a natural science when it adopted scientific methods of observation and experiment. It studied the functions of the brain, and located the areas connected with different nervous impulses. It analyzed the methods by which sensations work, and uncovered many other new areas of knowledge. Another of the new sciences was geology, the study of the earth, especially the rocks. Geology soon showed that the age of the earth instead of being limited to some five or six thousand years, as men from their mistaken interpretation of the Bible had long thought, must be measured in millions of years. Still other sciences that shaped a separate field for themselves were sociology, anthropology and archaeology. Anthropology studied in general the natural history of mankind. One of its most important aspects was the classification of men according to race. Archaeology went back beyond the period previously regarded as historic, and by a study of the remains of human life, chiefly tools, added the so-called prehistoric period to history. It also divided this period into sub-periods such as the stone age, the bronze age and the iron age. To all these sciences might be added a still longer list of other new departments into which learning was divided as the mass of knowledge increased.

There was still another way in which science has been ex-

2. Wider appeal

tended, and that is in its appeal. More and more men have become interested in its study until it has become one of the greatest, if not the greatest field of human knowledge. The universities, which previously paid little regard to physical science, have built laboratories and introduced courses on scientific subjects. Special scientific schools have been founded, and even the governments of Europe have shared in the work by equipping scientific expeditions. As already noticed, factories found it worth while to have their own research laboratories, in which chemists and physicists might discover some new process of benefit to industry.

B. Specialization

A second general feature of scientific development in recent times has been specialization. Up until the eighteenth century it was expected that a scientist should be familiar with all the fields of science. Newton, for instance, worked in physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy and other fields. In fact a man with only a good general education, such as Voltaire or John Wesley, might claim to be a scientist and write textbooks on its various fields. In the nineteenth century, however, the amount of scientific knowledge accumulated by man became so vast in its extent that not only was a man forced to limit his activities to one broad field in order to discuss it even intelligently, but, in order to be an authority on science, he also had to spend years of study on one aspect of a subject. This was especially true in medicine, where a man spent a lifetime of special study on one part of the human body to be thoroughly competent to treat it, and might know relatively little of other parts. The technique of science became so intricate that without such specialization it could not be mastered. And yet it was evident that at the opening of the twentieth century science had only made a beginning in exploring the vast field with which it was concerned. What man knew about science was almost nothing in comparison with what there was still to learn.

C. Filling-in process

Another general feature has been a filling-in process. At the time of the Congress of Vienna scientists believed that the main parts of the structure of knowledge had been discovered and put together. All that remained was to fill in the gaps, and this they proceeded to do. They were not so much interested in discovering the fundamental principles as in elaborating those already discovered. One important step in this filling-in process was the establishment of the metric system. 1. Metric system This began during the French Revolution when the scientists of France invented a more scientific system of measurements based on the use of decimals. For instance, the measurement of distance was the meter, slightly more than a yard. The meter was divided into ten parts called decimeters and these into ten parts called centimeters and these into ten parts called millimeters. Likewise, distances longer than a meter were named as ten, a hundred or a thousand times as long, the last being called a kilometer. A similar system for measuring weight was based on the gram, and of contents on the liter. This system was vastly more efficient than the old one and 1799 was approved by the French government. Still it was twenty-one years until it was made compulsory in France, and it was 1820 not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that it 1870 was generally adopted by scientists throughout the world.

The knowledge of chemistry was filled in by the discovery 2. Chemistry of nearly all of the ninety elements into which matter may be separated. In physics one of the most important additions 3. Physics was the vast extension of man's knowledge of electricity. The electric current was discovered, the electromagnet was in- 1831 vented, and other advances in electrical knowledge were made. One of the most important contributions to the field of physics was the formulation of the law of conservation of energy. This law states that the total energy of any isolated system, such as the human body, always remains the same. Energy is the power to do work. Any of it which is apparently lost within the system by doing work, is usually transformed into some other kind of energy.

To the various medical sciences enormous additions of 4. Medicine knowledge were made, of which it is impossible to select the most important, but at least three should be mentioned. It was discovered that all living bodies are ultimately composed of minute units called cells. Secondly, men learned that the ductless 1838 glands in the body, such as the thyroid gland in the neck, secrete a fluid necessary for healthy life and growth. If more or less than the proper amount is present in the system, a diseased condition results. By artificial means these secretions can be restrained or supplied, and thus, for instance, a person likely to be an idiot for lack of sufficient thyroid secretion can be made normally intelligent. The third great addition to medical knowledge was the discovery that foods have accessory substances called vitamins, of which a certain quantity is necessary to growth and health.

5. Astronomy

The knowledge of astronomy was filled in enormously, and among other things it was learned that by using a spectroscope to analyze the light that comes from the heavenly bodies, they can be shown to be composed of the same chemical elements as the earth.

D. Nationalistic tendency

A fourth outstanding feature of the development of science in recent times has been its tendency to become nationalistic. Before the nineteenth century almost all learned books were written in Latin, and that gave them an international character, but after that time scientists used the languages of their nations. This forced a man who wished to become thoroughly acquainted with the achievements of his field to acquire at least a reading knowledge of modern languages. Scientists were distinguished as being citizens of some particular nation. Certain nations were known as leading in certain sciences. The institutions and societies which sponsored scientific research were organized as units within certain countries. While it was true that there was a kinship between men of learning from all countries, yet the nationalistic spirit made a strong impression upon science.

E. Application of science

The feature of scientific development which is of most interest to the modern man on the street is the almost miraculous way in which science has been applied to the uses of everyday life. Not only has the life of the world been fundamentally changed by the stupendous inventions of the railway, the steamboat, the telegraph and the telephone, but also such things as the electric light, the vacuum cleaner, and the radio have revolutionized the everyday life of the ordinary individual. The mass of the people live in a scientific way, and in that sense in a scientific age. Every schoolboy is familiar with marvels made possible by science, which in previous times were at best only wild dreams. The ability to apply science to practical uses has been a highly distinguishing characteristic of its recent history.

II. Revolutionary changes in science

Such have been the general features of scientific progress during the last two hundred years. To trace the development of the different sciences in detail would be impossible in a short chapter like this, consequently, it is better to investigate a few of the changes in scientific conceptions which have been most revolutionary in their influence. The most revolutionary change in science within recent years has been the theory of evolution. The idea of evolution was an old one in human history, and in the first part of the nineteenth century it was held by many philosophers, though the scientists generally rejected it. A Frenchman named Lamarck asserted that the whole animal world had been slowly developed from simpler forms through use and disuse of the various organs. This evolutionary idea was developed into a scientific principle by Charles Darwin. Darwin was the son of a wealthy English physician. In botany and zoölogy he found the topics which most interested him, and for several years he served as botanist on an expedition sent out by the English government on the ship *Beagle* to explore the South Seas. On this voyage he collected a vast amount of information about animal life which impressed him with the idea that all living things were interdependent. When he read the famous *Essay on Population* written by Malthus, in which the author asserted that population tended to increase much faster than the means of subsistence, he realized that there was a struggle between the members of population to exist, and in that struggle those who survived would tend to develop certain characteristics that would gradually change them into a new species. With this idea in mind he spent twenty years collecting data showing the relations of different species. Then another English scientist named Alfred Wallace wrote a pamphlet after a few weeks reflection, in which he set forth the same theory which Darwin had spent so many years trying to prove. His pamphlet and Darwin's results were presented together to a meeting of the

A. Evolution

1. Growth of the idea

2. Work of Darwin

1798

1858 Linnean Society, and Wallace joined with the rest in giving Darwin the honor of having first carefully formulated and demonstrated the theory of evolution. In the next year Darwin published his results in a famous book called the *Origin of Species*. 1859

3. Darwinism

Stated briefly the theory of evolution as set forth by Darwin had the following outstanding features. First, it asserted that there was a variation of species. Species means in general a class of animals that may interbreed. Darwinism showed that species change and other species are developed from them; sometimes of a lower form, sometimes of a higher form. Thus all life, from the lowest cell to man himself, is fundamentally of one kind and has been changed into different kinds by evolution. The second part of the theory was the survival of the fittest, a phrase invented by one of Darwin's disciples, Herbert Spencer. This meant that all forms of life produced more progeny than could grow to maturity. In some cases, such as insects, the number of offspring that failed to survive was so vast that they would soon have filled the earth if they had been able to live. It was evident that those who survived had certain qualities enabling them to do so. These could be called survival values. One of these might be adaptation to environment; that is, the development of some quality that made the individual better able to withstand the hurtful influences of its environment, as when the polar bear developed a warm coat of fur. Another might be sexual selection, as when some individual had a quality, or set of qualities, such as strength, or attractiveness, which aided it to gain a mate and reproduce. Thus while it might die itself it would perpetuate its kind. Another survival quality might be pure accident. The third feature of Darwin's theory of evolution was natural selection. This meant that gradually by an infinite number of small changes the survival qualities common to a certain group of individuals became fixed, and so a new species developed.

4. Mendelianism

The first two parts of Darwin's theory were generally accepted by scientists, but natural selection was later questioned on the basis of the work of an Austrian monk named Gregor Johann Mendel. Mendel lived at the same time as Darwin, and experimented with the inheritance of characteristics in different kinds of peas. His results were published in the proceedings of a local learned society and then forgotten for forty years. When they were rediscovered at the opening of the twentieth century it was found that he had laid the basis for the formulation of the laws of heredity. He discovered that when two individuals each of a different pure strain were crossed, a hybrid resulted. The hybrid would reproduce three classes; one class would be pure individuals resembling the grandparent A; another would be pure individuals resembling the grandparent B; and the third would be hybrids. Some of the hybrids might appear to be pure individuals of the strain whose characteristic was dominant in them. Yet they would reproduce in the same way as other hybrids. Thus it might happen that some of its offspring would show the characteristic of the other strain. This was because every individual has both its own body cells, which perish with it, and also germ cells, which reproduce it and are not affected by the body cells. The germ cells contain a large number of different units which unite with the units in the germ cell of the other parent. The way in which they unite may vary so widely that it is almost impossible to forecast it or control it. Characteristics introduced by crossing may lie dormant for many generations and then suddenly appear. This made scientists believe that characteristics acquired by an individual cannot be transmitted to its offspring, and consequently species probably do not arise from only use and disuse as Lamarck had thought. Instead they probably arise both by the chance occurrence of new types which continue to breed true, and also by use and disuse. 1866

5. Controversy over evolution

The theory of evolution caused a tremendous controversy, especially in religion. It contradicted the prevalent theory that each species was due to a separate act of creation by God. Darwin himself did not take part in the controversy. He let the facts speak for themselves. The theory of evolution was defended, however, by a growing number of men. One of their leaders was a scientist named Thomas Huxley and the other was a philosopher named Herbert Spencer. Gradually it became evident that evolution was not inconsistent with Christianity or the Bible. On the contrary it was easier to believe in one magnificent act of creation than in an enormous number of lesser ones. Besides, in the origin of life there was still room and need for a divine act.

B. Bacteriology

1. Beginnings

Another revolutionary change in science was caused by the development of a new science called bacteriology. The chief founders of this science were a Frenchman named Louis Pasteur and a German named Robert Koch. They were preceded by others who discovered that fermentation was caused by tiny organisms present in fermenting substances like yeast. Pasteur applied the methods of chemistry and confirmed this discovery. He showed that by eliminating these organisms, and others called bacteria, from a substance, or preventing them from entering it, both fermentation and putrefaction could be stopped. Most bacteria are helpful to man, and some injurious. Koch also proved that many diseases were likewise caused by bacteria. By fighting these bacteria the disease could be prevented or cured. Pasteur developed a method of preventive treatment for hydrophobia which reduced the number of fatal cases from one hundred per cent to less than four per cent. By his discoveries he saved enormous sums of money for the wine and silk producers of France, yet he cared little for money or fame and lived a quiet life of devoted research in his laboratory.

2. Vaccination, 1796

3. Antiseptics

Before this knowledge of bacteria was developed, Dr. Jenner of England established the practice of combating the disease of smallpox by vaccination. Likewise a noted Scotch surgeon, Lord Lister, began to use carbolic acid to prevent infection in surgical wounds. Thus the use of antiseptics commenced, and instead of an operation usually resulting in death regardless of the surgeon's skill, it usually resulted in success. After Pasteur's discoveries Lister realized why antiseptics were necessary, and a development of more effective methods took place.

4. Elimination of disease

The science of bacteriology resulted in the elimination of an enormous amount of disease. For instance, typhoid fever was almost entirely prevented whereever care was taken to keep the bacteria of the disease from entering the milk or water in which they thrived, or when the method of vaccination was used to render the patient immune.

C. Electron theory

A third revolutionary change in science was the electron theory. In order to understand its importance it is necessary to recall that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the theory of atoms, once held by the Greeks, was revived. A substance was said to be divided into a number of infinitesimal parts called atoms, and these atoms were always the same in number whether the substance was in a solid, liquid or gaseous form. In case it entered into a chemical combination with some other substance the combination was formed by the union of the atoms of each substance. The nature of the compound that resulted was determined by the number of atoms from each substance which united to form one atom of the compound. These atoms were collected into molecules; one molecule being the smallest portion of the substance which could exist in a free state. Near the end of the nineteenth century a new type of light ray was discovered, called the X-ray, which could pierce such substances as wood and clothing. Soon afterwards a new chemical element was identified called radium, which had similarly powerful qualities. A study of the action of these and other new phenomena convinced scientists that the atom was not the final, indivisible particle out of which matter was composed. On the contrary each atom is a sort of small solar system in which there is a nucleus with a positive charge of electricity. Around this nucleus revolve at an enormous rate of speed a number of invisible bodies called electrons, which have a negative charge. The number of the electrons varies with the different chemical elements. This gave scientists of the twentieth century an entirely new conception of matter.

1. Atomic theory

2. Molecule

3. New theory of electrons

D. Scientific method

A fourth revolutionary change in science was the development of the modern scientific method by which a scientist usually proceeded in the following manner. First, by observation he collected a number of facts, making his observations as accurate as possible by the use of specially constructed instruments and a well-equipped laboratory. Secondly, he formulated a working hypothesis of the law which he thought these facts indicated. Thirdly, he continued his observations to see if they verified the hypothesis, and, if they did not, formulated a new working hypothesis and repeated the process.

III. Effects of science on thought

All of these various developments in science had a most important effect upon thought. They revealed a complexity in the organization of nature that complicated the task of evolving a philosophy based upon them. As more and more discoveries were made by scientists, it seemed as if there was no limit either to the smallness of things or to the vast extent of the universe. And yet it is impossible for the human mind to conceive of anything which has no limit. More than that, the overthrow of many established conclusions of science raised the question whether any confidence could be placed in the ability of science to supply knowledge. It became evident that it was impossible for philosophy to construct a complete system of truth as philosophers in past ages had done, because the field was too vast. The best that could be expected was to arrive at truth in piecemeal fashion. Even that seemed almost impossible and philosophy came to an *impasse* where its inability to reach final truth was often concealed behind a vast cloud of clever jargon. In the past a vast fund of ideas had collected in the human mind, many of which were false, and yet even the best thinkers were unable to free themselves from this accumulation of error. One of the most practical attempts to find a way out of the difficulty was made by the theory of behaviorism. This theory accepted the evidence of science that man is entirely a piece of matter and that there is no such addition as a vital force to distinguish him from any other organism. Whenever he meets certain stimuli he makes certain responses. Thus his behavior becomes a matter of scientific laws and the task of science is to discover those laws.

IV. Social progress

A. Roman Catholic Revival

During recent times there has been tremendous advance along many lines in social conditions. One of the most important social changes of the nineteenth century was the Roman Catholic Revival. The Jesuits, who had been abolished in the eighteenth century, reorganized and increased rapidly in numbers until they were very strong. In France, England and Germany there was a strong pro-Catholic movement. In England this was known as the Oxford Movement, because it was initiated by a group of scholars living at Oxford. A large 1827 number of converts to the Catholic Church was made, and in addition the High Church Party within the Church of England, which sympathized with the Catholics, was strengthened. Pius IX, who was pope during the middle of the century, was a vigorous leader. He promoted the Revival by the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, a favorite 1854 doctrine of the Jesuits. According to this doctrine the Virgin Mary was conceived without the taint of hereditary sin. In addition Pius issued a statement condemning the errors of his 1864 time, as he saw them, including such things as civil marriage, secular education, evolution and practically every other modern idea. Finally he called the Vatican Council in 1870, which decreed the dogma of papal infallibility. This stated that whenever the pope speaks *ex cathedra* (i.e. officially) on a matter of faith and morals, he cannot err. The authority thus given the pope was never used, but the promulgation of the dogma was a great victory for the papacy. It practically made the pope an absolute monarch.

B. Education

Many of the things which Pius IX condemned as errors were signs of social progress. Education, for instance, made a remarkable advance in recent times. The most progressive states gave their support and undertook its administration so as to insure sufficient elementary education for everybody. In many countries it was made compulsory. In addition scientific methods of instruction were developed and the subjects of study were greatly broadened.

C. Press

Another institution which made great progress was the press. At about the time of Napoleon's fall the power press was invented and this made it possible to print much faster and much cheaper. The next achievement was the gradual removal of censorship, although in many countries a partial censorship still remained. Far better methods of collecting news were made possible by the telegraph, and better systems of organizing news service were developed. The modern newspaper often reported events which had happened on one side of the world in the afternoon of a certain day, to the people on the other side in the morning of the same day — that is, the news traveled faster than the day around the earth. Still the newspaper press generally was seriously hampered by a lack of conscience. Anything that was saleable as news they regarded as their property, and they seized it by fair means or by foul with little regard for peoples' reputations or personal rights. These and many other forms of social life were thus transformed, and transformed mainly by the application of scientific knowledge and scientific methods to all walks of life.

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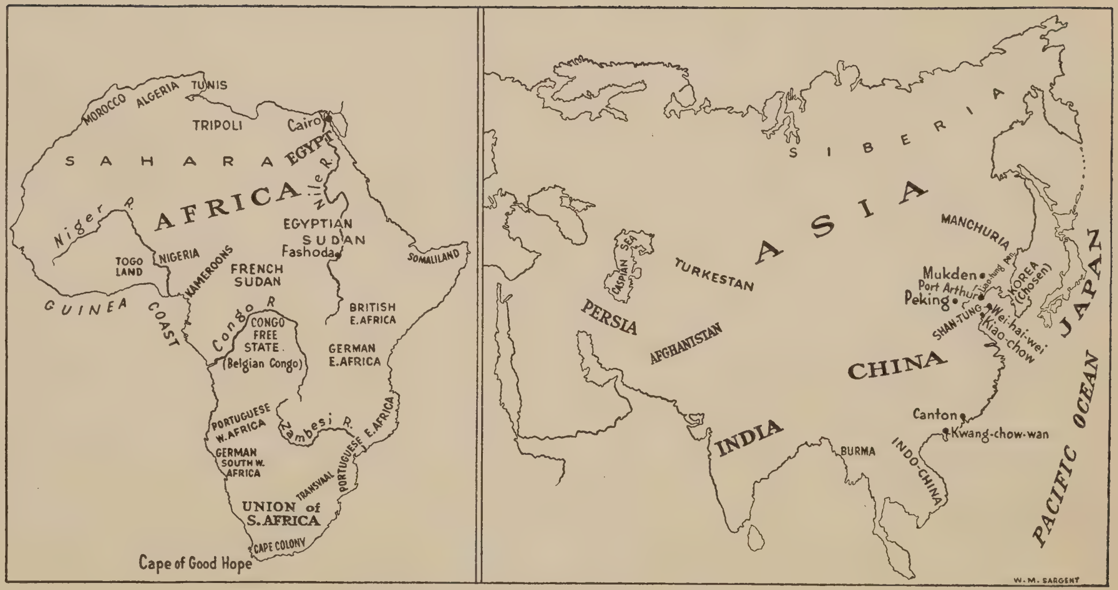
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
Cairo
EGYPT
SAHARA
AFRICA
Nile R.
Niger R.
EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
TOGO LAND
NIGERIA
KAMEROONS
FRENCH SUDAN
SOMALILAND
GUINEA COAST
Congo R.
CONGO FREE STATE (Belgian Congo)
BRITISH E.AFRICA
GERMAN E.AFRICA
PORTUGUESE W.AFRICA
Zambesi R.
PORTUGUESE E.AFRICA
GERMAN SOUTH W. AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
UNION of S.AFRICA
CAPE COLONY
Cape of Good Hope
SIBERIA
ASIA
CASPIAN SEA
TURKESTAN
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
MANCHURIA
Mukden
Liao-tung pen.
Port Arthur
Peking
KOREA (Chosen)
SHAN-TUNG
Wei-hai-wei
Kiao-chow
JAPAN
CHINA
Canton
Kwang-chow-wan
INDIA
BURMA
INDO-CHINA
PACIFIC OCEAN
W. M. SARGENT

Recent Imperialistic Expansion Overseas

CHAPTER XLII

RECENT IMPERIALISTIC EXPANSION OVERSEAS

I. Definition

Imperialism is the extension by a nation of its control beyond its national boundaries.

II. Types

There have been three main types of imperialism in the history of Europe. One type has been the control of neighboring countries, a good example of which is the conquest of Poland, Finland and other countries by Russia. A second type has been the movement to unify all the members of one race under a common government. This form of imperialism has been particularly strong in modern times. A good example of it is found in the Pan-Slav movement, which aims to unify all the Slavs in Russia, the Balkans, Bohemia and elsewhere. The third type of imperialism has been the extension of the control of European nations over lands outside of Europe. It is this type of overseas imperialism which is the subject of this chapter.

III. New features

Overseas imperialism began with the explorations of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, but in the nineteenth century it changed its character so extensively that it became practically a new movement. This change was due chiefly to the two great movements beginning in the eighteenth century that revolutionized European life. These movements were the Industrial Revolution and the rise of democracy. The Industrial Revolution made a great difference in imperialism overseas. It gave to the imperialists an enormous superiority over the explorers of preceding times. For instance, it placed at their disposal the steamship, which would take them to the ends of the world far more rapidly than sailing vessels. After they reached a land that they wished to occupy, they had the telegraph to keep them in instant communication with their home base, the railway to open up the interior, and all the tremendous resources of machinery, modern science, and capi-

A. Influence of the Industrial Revolution tal to help in the development of the country. Capital was a particularly important asset, because its tremendous growth provided almost unlimited reserves for investment in foreign countries. Democracy made a great change in imperialism, because it put the governments of Europe in the hands of the manufacturing and trading class — the bourgeoisie. Since they controlled the government, they employed the resources of the state in promoting their enterprises overseas. Cruisers were at hand to protect traders, intervention might be used to insure collection of their debts, and even a war of conquest might be waged to secure for them a monopoly of the trade from some particular country. Thus overseas imperialism in the nineteenth century was practically a new movement; it was far more powerful than any previous expansion and consequently its achievements were far more extensive. Between the Congress of Vienna, 1815, and the World War, 1914, practically all the lands of the earth not previously conquered were either subjected to the control of the European powers or forced to become part of their family of nations.

B. Influence of democracy

IV. Causes

A. Trade

There were five main causes for this enormous movement of overseas imperialism. The first was trade. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, the factories of Europe became more and more dependent upon the supply of raw materials from overseas. In many cases new products were developed for which these raw materials were essential. A good example was rubber for automobile tires and other rubber products. It was to the advantage of a nation having factories in need of such supplies to gain control of the land from which they came, so as to be sure of a supply. An imperialistic nation would aim to control all the lands supplying a certain valuable raw material, such as rubber, and then it would have a trade monopoly that would put its competitors in other nations at a tremendous disadvantage. In addition to a supply of raw materials the European nations also wanted a market for their products. For example, if the savages in Africa could be taught to wear clothes, that would develop an important market for textiles. The capitalists wanted a place to invest their surplus capital, and overseas lands offered a good opportunity, because often a

1. Raw materials

2. Markets

3. Investment

little capital expended there, in opening mines, for instance, would bring huge returns.

B. Desire for strategic points

A second cause for imperialism was the desire of the European nations to acquire points of strategic value. They needed coaling stations for their warships, even if the station was only a small island. After trade developed with overseas countries, it was important to gain control of the best routes by holding such places as Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. They seized the best ports and fortified them, so that in case of war their trade could not be stopped by other nations.

C. Colonization

The third cause for imperialism was colonization. In the nineteenth century a new enthusiasm arose for colonies; that is, countries where people could settle. The spirit of adventure seized hold upon the peoples of Europe, and hundreds of thousands of them sought new homes beyond the sea. It was easier to found a successful colony in the nineteenth than in the seventeenth century, because now supplies could be brought more quickly, modern medicine enabled the colonists to combat disease, and trade gave them a surer income. Many nations, such as England, saw that they were losing population anyway, and decided that it was better to lose it by emigration to their own colonies than to the lands of others.

D. Missions

The missionary movement was a fourth cause of imperialism. During the era of the Protestant Revolution a new enthusiasm for missions caught the imagination of Europe. Missionary societies were first organized in the Roman Catholic Church. At the opening of the nineteenth century this movement laid hold on the Protestant churches. Most of the missionaries went with a religious purpose, but their work resulted inevitably in imperialistic expansion. They opened the way by their explorations for others who did not have a religious purpose. They created a demand for European products, such as books, clothes, medicine and tools. Their converts were taught to live largely in a Western way; for instance, to have only one wife. This was an imperialism of European civilization, if not a political conquest.

E. Desire for territory

The fifth cause for imperialism was the desire for territory. Sometimes nations wanted territory just out of mere greediness.

Sometimes they wanted it because they saw other nations acquiring overseas empires, and they did not want to be left behind in the race for land. Often they found it necessary to acquire territory in order to protect that which they had already seized. The main cause for seizing territory was that it had some value either for its natural resources, or for its trade, or because a revenue could be extorted from its population.

V. Forms

The imperialistic expansion of Europe overseas was carried on in different forms, all of which had the essential element of gaining control of other countries. The most common and evident form was conquest and annexation. In the nineteenth century this was not very difficult, and the European nations were almost uniformly successful, because the science of war had been developed to a far higher level of efficiency in Europe than anywhere else in the world. Such a conquest usually had one of two results. It either resulted in the complete extermination of the conquered natives, or in their exploitation, and either result was bad. It was practically impossible for a European nation to conquer a weaker people and then raise it to a level of strength and civilization with itself. Another form of imperialism was the establishment of a protectorate over a country. This might be done in various ways, but usually it meant that while the country was still rated as independent and kept its own government in form, it was controlled by the imperialistic nation. Sometimes that control would only be a friendly interest; other times it would be an absolute control of all parts of the government. A third form of imperialism was to create a sphere of influence; that is, a district within which the imperialistic country had the monopoly of expansion, although they took no control technically over the country. Within this sphere of influence they would be given certain concessions; such as the right to build railways and to open up mines. They might even be allowed to march soldiers into the country to protect the railways or mines. It was generally recognized that no other nation should be given similar concessions within that district or gain control over it in any way. Often it was tacitly understood that the sphere of influence might ultimately develop into an annexation.

A. Conquest and annexation

B. Protectorate

C. Sphere of influence

D. Peaceful penetration

A fourth form of imperialism that was more subtle than the rest was peaceful penetration. This was usually an economic or cultural imperialism. In this case the imperialistic country or its citizens might make loans to the overseas country or its inhabitants, by which they gained an economic control. Also by their superior resources of capital, their better industrial organization and their greater efficiency in trade the European nation might gradually gain control of the market in a country. Missions, too, were a form of peaceful penetration that often resulted in forceful imperialism. Whether the missionaries wanted protection from their home country or not, their country was forced to provide it, because no nation could afford to allow its prestige to be lowered by letting its citizens go unprotected. Often it happened that the murder of missionaries caused some nation to intervene and either gain concessions in return for the injury, or even make annexations. In all these various ways, and still others, the nations of Europe conquered vast regions overseas during the nineteenth century, or extended their control over distant lands. At the opening of the nineteenth century the history of Europe had thus become the history of the world, and it was impossible to discuss the history of the nations in Europe apart from that of the United States, Japan, China, and many other countries. The two areas in which European imperialism made the greatest progress were Africa and Eastern Asia, the latter being commonly known as the Far East.

VI. Imperialism in Africa

A. Change in nineteenth century

Africa at the time of the Congress of Vienna was a huge continent about the interior of which few people knew anything, and most of the people in Europe cared nothing. A century later almost all of it had been distributed between the different nations of Europe and boundary lines were carefully drawn marking their different possessions. The story of this change is a marvelous story of adventure and achievement. In order to understand it, it is necessary first to notice the main geographical divisions of Africa. The northern coast of Africa was divided between a number of states nominally part of the Ottoman Empire in 1815 but actually autonomous. On the western side around the big bend where Africa turns inward

B. Geographical divisions

was the Guinea coast, on which the most important river was the Niger. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was the most profitable part of Africa for trade. South of the Guinea Coast was the Congo region around the mighty Congo River, and south of that the so-called West Coast. The southern end of the continent was known as the Cape (Cape of Good Hope), and north of it on the eastern side was East Africa. In this region the most important river was the Zambesi. Farther north along the coast on either side of the point of the continent that juts out from the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean was Somaliland.

C. Previous policy before nineteenth century

Up until the nineteenth century the policy of the European countries had been merely to establish trading stations on the coast of Africa. Here they bought the African products such as gold, ivory and chiefly slaves. The slave trade was begun by the Portuguese, and, because of the enormous profits to be made in it, was continued for centuries in spite of its vicious practices. The only part of Africa in which a European nation made a serious and really successful attempt to establish a colony was on the Cape, where the Dutch founded Cape Colony. Elsewhere the difficulties of penetrating the interior were too great to be overcome with the inadequate equipment available at that time. In many places the climate was deadly. Africa had comparatively few good harbors, and in most regions the coast was backed by a chain of mountains that had to be ascended before the table-land of the interior could be reached. The rivers were rendered almost impassable by cataracts, and the dangers from beasts, savages and insects were frightful.

D. Exploration

1. Livingstone

1849 ff.

1873

In spite of these dangers and difficulties the great work of exploring what was known as the "Dark Continent" began about the middle of the nineteenth century. The most famous explorer was David Livingstone. Livingstone was a Scotch medical missionary on the Cape who saw that by opening up the interior of Africa he could render both missions and civilization a great service. He first explored the Zambesi River basin, and then with intrepid courage opened up the country north of it by years of the most difficult and dangerous journeys. Finally he died in the heart of Africa, while on one of his expeditions, and was honored by Great Britain with burial in Westminster Abbey. The whole world watched his career with breathless interest, and as a result he not only contributed new knowledge about Africa, but in addition he stimulated a wave of enthusiasm for exploration and missions in Africa. At one time it was thought that he was lost, and a relief expedition was sent out under Henry M. Stanley. He found Livingstone and then spent the rest of his life in further journeys through Africa. He was the first to explore thoroughly the course of the Congo. Livingstone and Stanley were followed by many other explorers no less bold and skillful, until what had formerly been blank spots on the map of the continent became well-known areas.

2. Stanley

E. Partition of Africa

1. Usual procedure

The exploration of Africa was soon followed by its partition between the European nations. When they once discovered the possibilities of the interior for trade, missions, colonization and other imperialistic purposes, they could not let it go long unclaimed. And as soon as one country showed a tendency to claim a part of the continent, others hurried to secure a share before it was all gone. The usual procedure in acquiring territory was for a country first to explore the area surrounding its trading stations. Then the native chiefs in the district were induced to make treaties which meant nothing to them, but gave the imperialistic nation a nominal right of possession to the territory. Then the other nations were notified that the territory had been occupied, and a boundary was arranged by diplomatic negotiations. In a few cases nations had to threaten war or finally resort to war before their claims were recognized.

2. Congo Free State

1806, 1830

1876

The movement for the partitioning of Africa was really begun by Leopold II of Belgium. Previously England had taken Cape Colony from the Dutch, and France had occupied Algeria, but these were purely local enterprises in countries already developed. Leopold II was inspired by the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley to propose the organization of an international society for the development of the Congo region. Though the society was organized, and Stanley was employed to manage its operations, it soon developed into a personal

enterprise by Leopold, because the other nations took little
interest. The Congo basin was made a state, called the
Congo Free State, with Leopold as its ruler. Unfortunately,
the treatment of the natives was so atrocious that finally Belgium
1908 was forced to take it over as a colony of the state.

3. British gains
Great Britain annexed more colonies to the north of Cape
Colony, and after she established a protectorate in Egypt, even
planned a British empire from the Cape to Cairo. She also
acquired a huge area around the mouth of the Niger called
Nigeria, and a big section of East Africa, besides many other
smaller colonies. However, these acquisitions brought their
1881 troubles, because the Egyptian Sudan around the Upper Nile
1896–1898 revolted and had to be reconquered. In South Africa the
Dutch settlers, called Boers, revolted, and the Boer state of
1899–1901 Transvaal declared war. The Boer War was a long and bitter
one. Even after it was evident that the Boers could not win,
they still fought on. England learned a lesson from the war.
1910 After it was over she organized the colonies in South Africa
into the Union of South Africa and gave them self-government.
After that they were more loyal.

4. French gains
France dreamed of an empire from West to East across
Northern Africa and nearly realized it by taking Tunis,
1881 ff. Morrocco, the Sahara, and the French Sudan down to the
Congo region. At one time an attempt was even made to occupy
1898 upper Egypt at Fashoda, but Great Britain threatened
5. Italian gains
war, and the French retired. Italy gained for herself Tripoli
and also a section of Somaliland. Germany entered the competition
6. German gains
late, yet succeeded in acquiring two important colonies
on the Guinea Coast, Togoland and Kameroons, and in addition
1884, 1885 German Southwest Africa and German East Africa.
Portugal dreamed of an empire from West to East in the
7. Portuguese gains
southern part of the continent, but was forced to be content
with a huge district on each coast. Though all these countries
acquired such enormous areas of land, they failed to gain all
that they desired, and consequently were disappointed.

VII. Imperialism in the Far East
Since the history of the Far East belongs to European history
only in a broad sense, this chapter will confine itself merely to
the history of European imperialism in Eastern Asia. Russia

A. Russian, British and French expansion

was the first European country to make large gains in Asia, and by the middle of the seventeenth century had acquired all of Siberia. In the last half of the nineteenth century Russia renewed this expansion, and began to advance southward. A section of the Pacific coast was acquired from China. Turkestan was conquered, and then practically all of the land between the Caspian sea and China was taken. This brought Russia to the border of Afghanistan and Persia, where she threatened India. The British were alarmed, and for years the two countries were hostile on this account. In order to guard against Russian advance, the British annexed more land in India. Also they advanced toward the East by gradually conquering Burma. France meanwhile conquered different parts of Indo-China until the whole huge peninsula was hers. 1884–1885 1884

B. Opening of China

One of the most important aspects of the history of imperialism in the Far East was the opening of China. In the first part of the nineteenth century she had excluded Europeans from all of her ports except Canton, and there they were allowed to trade only under humiliating conditions. Finally European traders discovered that if they brought opium from India the Chinese officials could be bribed to let them smuggle it in. The Chinese government tried to stop this lucrative traffic and the result was a series of hostile acts which finally led Great Britain to declare war. The First Opium War, as it was called, resulted of course in a British victory, because of the superiority of Western weapons, and China was compelled to make three important concessions: the opening of so-called "Treaty ports" to foreign trade, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with most of the other nations of the world. However, the treaty was not kept by either side, and the result was a Second Opium War in which France under Napoleon III joined Great Britain. This conflict confirmed the gains made in the first war and secured the admission of Christian missionaries. During this period a fourth feature was added to the imperialistic advance in China. This feature was extra-territoriality. This meant that a foreign nation was given a portion of Chinese land, usually some port, or part of a city, in which the government was administered by the for- 1754 1839 1840–1842 1856–1860 eign nation. In addition, the citizens of the foreign nation were under its own jurisdiction. If accused of any crime, they were tried not in Chinese courts, but only in courts maintained by their own nation. Though the Chinese naturally resented these encroachments upon their sovereignty, they were unable to prevent them, and also powerless to resist the peaceful penetration which followed the Second Opium War. China was invaded by the various features of Western civilization; railways, mines, telegraph lines, education and so forth. By the end of the nineteenth century China was no longer a closed country.

C. Opening of Japan

Japan, like China, was also opened to Western nations during the nineteenth century. Back in the sixteenth century when European traders and missionaries first came to Japan they were welcomed, and thousands of converts were made to the Christian Church. But at the end of the century the government turned against the Europeans, persecuted the Christians 1587
1636 severely, and finally closed the country. They permitted no one to enter or leave it, and stopped all relations with the rest of the world, except for a small trading post open to the Dutch. This situation continued until the middle of the nineteenth century, when sailors from the United States on long voyages to the northern Pacific found it was absolutely necessary to purchase supplies from Japan. Consequently, Commodore
1853 Perry was sent with a fleet to demand certain privileges of
1854 trade, and after many months of consideration Japan decided
1867 ff. to open her ports. The result was a veritable revolution. The ruling element in Japan soon recognized that Western civilization was far stronger than their own and decided to adopt it as fully as possible. To describe the changes the Japanese made would simply be to name over again the most important advances made in Europe in constitutional government, education, economic organization and especially in militarism. In adopting European methods of army and navy organization the Japanese were especially vigorous. It was a truly national movement, in which the majority of the population enthusiastically joined. One significant change was the adoption of
1873 the European calendar, because it put Japan in step with the

rest of the world. The whole revolution was characterized by remarkable thoroughness and careful study of every angle of Western civilization.

D. Chino-Japanese War, 1894–1895

The military superiority which Japan acquired by this revolution was soon demonstrated in a war with China. The war was caused by a dispute over Korea, a part of China opposite Japan. Japan wanted to open it up, to control its valuable supply of grain, and to use it as a market for her rising industries. China resisted this policy. In the Chino-Japanese War that resulted Japan easily won the victory. Korea was given its independence and Japan gained possession of the valuable Liao-tung peninsula with its great harbor and fortress, Port Arthur. Then, however, the powers, led by Russia, intervened to maintain the integrity of China, and forced Japan to relinquish both Liao-tung and Korea.

E. Partition of China

The intervention of the powers was followed by a partitioning movement which showed how insincere were their pretensions of intervention to maintain China's integrity. Russia took away the control over Korea, Manchuria, and Port Arthur. She was especially anxious to possess Port Arthur, because she needed an ice-free port as a terminus for the Trans-Siberian Railway. France seized another strategic point called Kwang-chow-wan, and Germany made the murder of some missionaries an excuse for appropriating Kiao-Chow 1897 together with control of the province of Shantung. Great Britain took the strategic area known as Wei-hai-wei. In 1898 addition the powers began to mark out spheres of influence, in which they would have control of trade and first rights to annexations in case further partitions were made. The United States tried to check this movement of imperialism by gaining 1897 the assent of the powers to what was known as the open-door policy; that is, the recognition of equal rights of trade for everybody in China under Chinese regulation. Meanwhile the greed of foreign powers had stirred the Chinese so deeply that finally a revolt broke out against foreign oppression. It was led by a society called the Boxers, because it was ostensibly 1900 formed to promote boxing, and secretly to oppose foreigners. The revolt was favored by the Empress Dowager, and many foreigners were killed in raids upon their stations. In Peking the foreign area was besieged for two months, until at the last moment it was relieved by an international army hastily organized by the powers. Severe reprisals were taken on the Chinese, and they were required to pay a huge indemnity. However, the partition of China was temporarily halted.

F. Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905

Meanwhile Japan had not forgotten the humiliation for which Russia was chiefly responsible, and was anxiously watching the Russian advance in Manchuria and Korea. She strengthened her position by an alliance with Great Britain (1902) and steadily prepared for war. When it was evident that Russia intended to make her occupation permanent, Japan declared war (Feb., 1904). The events of the Russo-Japanese War were a surprise to the world, for Japan showed a decided military superiority over Russia. The Russian fleet was almost entirely destroyed. Port Arthur was taken after a long and desperate siege (Jan. 1, 1905). Then the main Russian army in Manchuria was decisively defeated at the gigantic battle of Mukden. By that time both countries were ready to consider peace, because Japan was exhausted and Russia was in the throes of a revolution at home. Through the mediation of President Roosevelt of the United States the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed (Sept. 5, 1905), by which Japan was given Liao-tung, and a protectorate over Korea, while Russia agreed to evacuate Manchuria. A few years later Japan annexed Korea (1910), and its name was changed to Chosen. Japan thus took her place as one of the most important powers in the world.

G. Chinese Revolution

The remarkable increase in power made by Japan convinced the leaders in China that they too must adopt Western methods, if they would maintain their integrity. The emperor promised to give the country a constitution, but soon afterwards he died and meanwhile a revolution broke out (1911) in which the Republicans in the South drove his successor from his throne and established a republic (Feb. 12, 1912). The first president was a capable man named Yuan Shih K'ai. For a time he managed to keep the movement under control, but then he died suddenly (1916), and revolution broke forth once more. For China the change to Western civilization was to be a far more disturbing and extended process than for Japan.

VIII. Problems of imperialism

In conclusion, it should be noticed that the imperialistic advance of the European nations overseas raised a great many problems. One question was whether imperialism was really worth while. The Italian possessions in Africa, for instance, were far from being economically profitable. The largest problem of imperialism was the conflict of interests. All over the world there were areas in which the different powers came into opposition. Japan and Russia were opponents in Manchuria, England and Russia in central Asia, England and France in northern Africa, and so forth. These areas of conflict created a great deal of hostility between the nations in Europe, and were an important element in the complicated diplomatic situation that will be described in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER XLIII

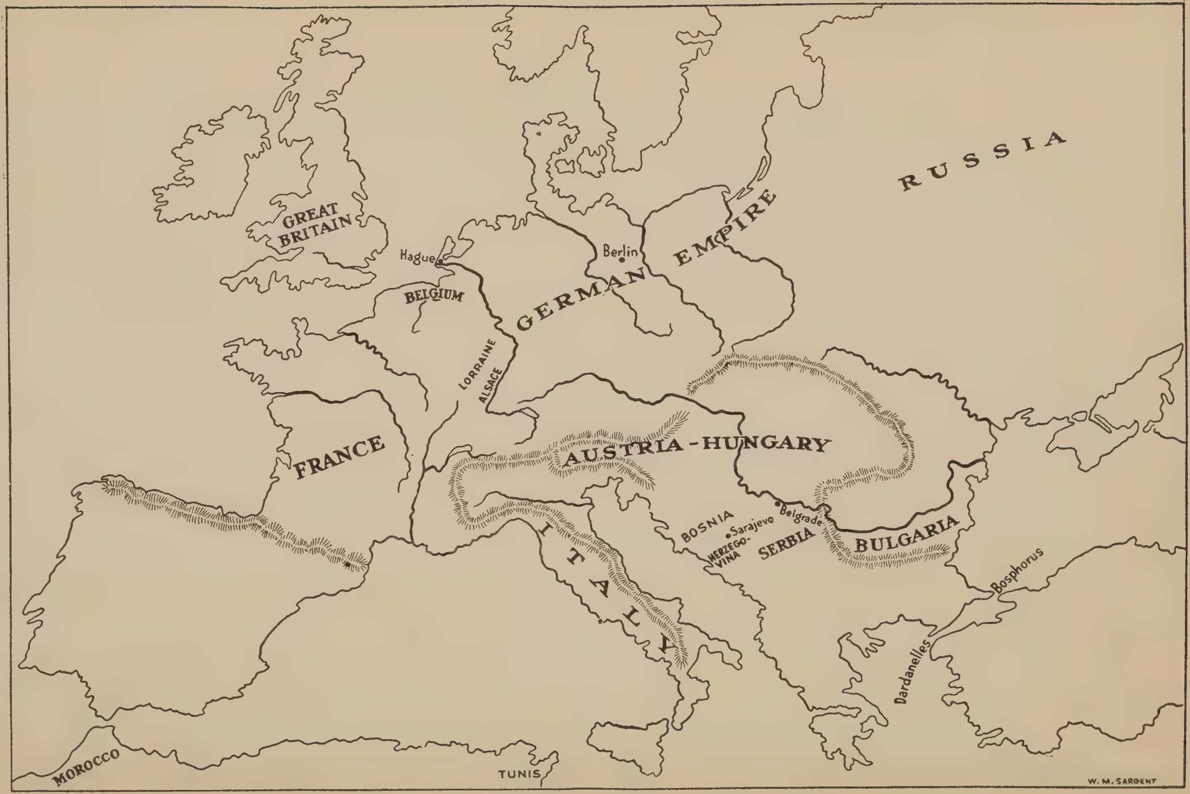
THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

I. Lessons learned from Bismarck's wars

The causes of the World War that began in 1914 were so numerous and so complicated that, in order to understand them, it is essential to divide them into two classes; the underlying causes and the immediate causes. It must also be kept in mind that a brief treatment, such as this, must necessarily make them appear more simple than they were. One of the most important underlying causes was the lessons learned from the wars waged by Bismarck for the unification of Germany. Of these lessons two were most important. The first was the lesson of preparedness. One reason why Bismarck had triumphed so wonderfully was because he had done his best to prepare for war. He had done this by an elaborate system of universal military service which gave Germany the best army in Europe. He had also spun a web of diplomacy that gained allies for himself and isolated his enemy. The nations of Europe imitated him. The second lesson learned from Bismarck's wars was that a swift attack was one of the best ways to gain victory. In order to make this swift attack, it was necessary to have in readiness a system for mobilizing the army that would work with all the regularity of a machine. Every detail was provided for years in advance, so that at the right moment just one telegram ordering the execution of the plans would set the whole army in motion. It was essential that the enemy must be taken by surprise before they were ready to defend their frontier, and so it could be crossed. Then the war would be waged in the enemy's country and they would suffer from the devastation that would result. A delay of even a day or two might mean complete defeat. Consequently, for years Europe was on the alert, ready for instant war. Since mobilization became such an extremely complicated machine, it was impossible to interfere with it once it had started — that would throw

A. Preparedness

B. Swift attack


GREAT BRITAIN
Hague
BELGIUM
GERMAN EMPIRE
Berlin
RUSSIA
LORRAINE
ALSACE
FRANCE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
HERZEGO-VINA
SERBIA
Belgrade
BULGARIA
ITALY
Bosphorus
Dardanelles
MOROCCO
TUNIS
W. M. SARGENT

THE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

everything into confusion. For this reason it was generally recognized that an order for mobilization was equivalent to a declaration of war.

II. Formation of system of alliances

Another underlying cause was the formation of a system of alliances, because it divided Europe into two hostile groups and they found that fidelity to the alliance must be placed before peace, even though they had no good reason for war. The first system of alliances centered on the Triple Alliance. This system started with the League of the Three Emperors. After the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck adopted the policy that Germany needed peace and had no further cause for offensive war. However, Germany still needed to be prepared for a defensive war to protect herself against the French passion for revenge. France never became reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. To prepare Germany for defense against French revenge, Bismarck tried by diplomacy to gain allies for Germany and at the same time to isolate France. The first alliance which he constructed was the League of the Three Emperors; William of Germany, Franz Joseph of Austria and Alexander of Russia. After an interchange of visits between them and a series of interviews, they finally made a defensive alliance. It was never very strong, but it served Bismarck's main purpose of keeping France isolated. With no allies she would not dare to attack Germany.

A. System of Triple Alliance
1. League of Three Emperors

Oct. 22, 1873

2. Dual Alliance, 1879

The League of the Three Emperors was broken by the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878, because in that war Russia made gains in the Balkans which Austria would not consent to let her keep. The result was the Congress of Berlin, 1878, at which Russia suffered a bitter diplomatic defeat due to the opposition of England and Austria to her expansion in the Balkans. Bismarck honestly tried to mediate between the two sides and even to help Russia, but Russia did not realize this and blamed him too for her defeat. The Russians accused him of base ingratitude, because Russia's neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War had done much to help Prussia gain the victory. When Bismarck found that Russia was no longer his friend, he decided that the best thing to do was to make a strong alliance with Austria. In the next year Germany and Austria signed the

Oct. 7, 1879

Dual Alliance, by which they agreed to help each other by force in case either was attacked by Russia, and to remain neutral in case either was attacked by some other power. This marked the beginning of Pan-Germanism versus Pan-Slavism; that is, a union of the German nations against the Slavic countries, of which Russia was the greatest. In the past Austria and Prussia had been traditional enemies. In the future they were to be firm allies.

3. Alliance of Three Emperors, 1881–1887

After Russia's anger had cooled, a very secret Alliance of the Three Emperors was formed, by which each agreed to maintain a benevolent neutrality in case one of the others was attacked by an outside power. They also reached an understanding on the Balkans, by which they promised Russia to keep the Straits (the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles) closed to warships, and Austria was given permission to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina as soon as a favorable opportunity presented itself. However, the alliance did not last long, because Austria encouraged Serbia to attack Bulgaria, and Russia was so greatly offended that she refused to renew the alliance. It was replaced by what was known as the Reinsurance Treaty between Russia and Germany, by which Russia agreed to give Germany active assistance in case of an attack by France, and Germany promised to do the same for Russia in case of an attack by Austria. This agreement lasted until after Bismarck's dismissal, when the Kaiser was persuaded by his ministers not to renew it, because it endangered the cordiality of Germany's relations with Austria.

1887

June 18, 1887

1890

4. Triple Alliance, 1882

Meanwhile the Dual Alliance developed into the Triple Alliance, 1882, by the admission of Italy. Italy wanted to join the Triple Alliance chiefly to gain aid against France in case France attacked her, and also to remove the antagonism with Austria that had resulted from the wars for the unification of Italy. Italy was angry at France just then, because France had seized Tunis, a district in Africa which Italy wanted for herself. As a matter of fact Bismarck, as well as England, had encouraged France to take Tunis, because he wanted France to turn her attention to colonial expansion and thus forget the humiliation of 1870. At first Bismarck did not favor ad-

1881

mitting Italy to the Triple Alliance, because he saw that she was undependable. Finally, however, he consented, and an agreement was signed by which the three countries agreed not to make alliances against each other and to give military aid for defense. The Triple Alliance gave Italy a place among the big powers and it gave Austria a feeling of security against attack from the west in case of war with Russia. In the next year after the Triple Alliance was formed Rumania became a member of the group by signing a defensive agreement with Austria and Germany. This agreement was extended later to include Italy and thus completed the system of the Triple Alliance. May 20, 1882

B. System of Triple Entente

1. Franco-Russian Alliance, 1892

After the Triple Alliance was formed, an opposing system was constructed, which centered around what was known as the Triple Entente. The system of the Triple Entente had its origins in the Franco-Russian Alliance. It was natural for an alliance to be formed between France and Russia, because both of them found themselves isolated by the development of the Triple Alliance. France was hostile to Germany and Russia to Austria, and by joining together each gained an ally on the opposite frontier of its enemy. The mere formation of the Triple Alliance created a menace which forced the other countries to gain protection by organizing an alliance against it. After Germany refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty, the French and Russian fleets exchanged visits, and a secret, oral agreement was made against Germany. 1892 Then, after further events alarmed Russia, this agreement was made into a strong alliance with conversations between the military staffs of the two countries for joint action in case of war. Jan. 4, 1894

2. Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1902

The next step toward the Triple Entente was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This came about because England at the close of the nineteenth century decided to abandon the policy of "Splendid Isolation" by which she had abstained from all alliances. This change was due chiefly to the imperialistic interest of the Conservatives. They realized that the British Empire could not be defended without the help of allies. At first they sought an alliance with Germany, but after several rebuffs relinquished their efforts. 1895 ff. At that time Japan was seeking an ally in preparation for the war she planned against Russia, so England and Japan signed a treaty, by which each agreed to come to the aid of the other, in case either was engaged in a war in which a third country intervened. This meant that Japan could fight Russia, knowing that, if France intervened, England would come to her aid. It also meant that the British possessions in the Far East were protected by Japan. 1902

3. Entente Cordiale, 1904

At the same time, Great Britain was seeking a solution of her differences with France. At the opening of the twentieth century a number of new men came into office in both countries who thought such a solution could be found. One of these was King Edward VII of Great Britain and the other was Delcassé, the foreign minister of France. The chief cause for trouble between the two nations had been rivalry over colonies. This was particularly bitter in Northern Africa, where England had occupied Egypt (1882) and then forced the French to retire from Fashoda on the upper Nile (1898). The statesmen who wanted to promote friendship between the people of the two countries first stimulated it by an interchange of official visits. Then a series of conventions were signed (April 8, 1904) which disposed of the colonial disputes. The most important compromise was the one by which France agreed to give Great Britain a free hand in Egypt, and Great Britain in return recognized the right of France to expand in Morocco. This understanding between the two countries was known as the Entente Cordiale. While it was in no way a military alliance, it paved the way for one.

4. Triple Entente, 1907.

Great Britain's imperial interests had also often brought her into conflict with Russia during the nineteenth century. After Great Britain came to an understanding with Russia's ally France, and after the danger from Russia was greatly lessened by her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War, it was easier for the two nations to lay aside their enmity. This was helped by a treaty between Japan and Russia (July 30, 1907), partly secret, in which they agreed on a plan for partitioning Manchuria. Then an agreement was made between Great Britain and Russia (Aug. 31, 1907), in which they removed the causes for dispute between them over various districts in Asia. The most important of these was Persia.

Russia was given the northern and most valuable part as a sphere of influence. Great Britain was given as her sphere the southern part, mostly desert, and between them was left an area in which neither was to gain concessions without the consent of the other. Thus there was formed a treaty relationship between Great Britain, France and Russia, which was commonly called the Triple Entente. Within this relationship was included Japan. Italy also tended to join hands with it in spite of her membership in the Triple Alliance. After the opening of the twentieth century Italy became more friendly to France, because France recognized her right to take Tripoli while she gave a free hand to France in Morocco. A secret treaty was signed between them for defense, which did not literally violate Italy's obligations to the Triple Alliance, but actually did so. This meant that in case of war Italy would join the side which would promise her the most advantages. Nov. 1, 1902

5. Anglo-French military and naval conversations, 1905 ff.

While the provisions of the treaties between Great Britain and France did not establish a defensive alliance, their relationship became practically the same thing when secret conversations began between the military and naval officials of the two countries. Sir Edward Grey, the British minister of foreign affairs, made it clear to the French that these conversations were undertaken only on his own personal authority and were in no way binding upon England. Nevertheless, full plans were made for the way in which the British army should coöperate with the French in resisting a German invasion of France, and the British army was even reorganized for this purpose. Later on an agreement was reached by which the French navy agreed to protect British interests in the Mediterranean, and the British ships were withdrawn from that area to the North Sea with the understanding that they would protect the Atlantic coast of France. Even though there was no written agreement, such actions formed a moral obligation, and, as they continued, increased the conviction that a war with Germany was inevitably coming. Similar naval agreements were made between Great Britain and Russia, and France and Russia. Thus the Triple Entente tightened its bonds of union. 1912

As the nations of Europe thus grouped themselves in two

III. Rivalry of the alliances

A. Militarism

B. Balkans

opposing systems of alliances a rivalry developed between them. One form of rivalry was militarism. Each side carefully estimated its probable strength as opposed to the other side in time of war. First one country and then the other increased the size of its army so as to be more powerful than its principal opponent. Another cause of rivalry was the Balkans. All the great powers had interests in the Balkans, but the antagonism between Russia and Austria was particularly severe. Each watched closely to see that the other gained no advantage.

C. Anglo-German naval rivalry

1906

One of the most serious forms of competition was Anglo-German naval rivalry. Great Britain had adopted the policy that she must have a navy equal to that of any two other powers combined, or else, being an island country, her supplies were endangered. Kaiser William II and Admiral von Tirpitz, the head of the German navy, decided that Germany too must have a strong navy. As they began to build more and more ships, the British became alarmed. They increased their own naval construction, and built a new type of ship called the *Dreadnought,* which was so powerful that it made all previous types practically obsolete. This really made matters worse for the British, because now the two countries had an even start in the race. Nevertheless, Great Britain made plans to build ships twice as fast as Germany. At the same time Britain tried to lessen the tenseness of the rivalry by urging Germany to agree to a ratio which would give Great Britain a superiority but still leave the German navy strong. Germany refused any such agreement, and the bitter rivalry continued, inflaming the hostility of the people in the two countries more and more.

D. Berlin-Bagdad Railway

1914

Still another cause of rivalry was the German plan for a railway from Berlin to Bagdad. The powers of the Triple Entente objected to the plan and blocked it by preventing Germany from securing the necessary capital to build it. However, after long negotiations England and Germany agreed to a treaty by which the British permitted the railway to be built, and at the same time safeguarded their own interests in Asia. In this, as in many other instances, the powers found it easier to reach an agreement on colonial and economic matters than on military strength, boundaries and matters of prestige. These, unfortunately, caused a vicious antagonism in which the members of each alliance felt that they must support each other even at the risk of war.

IV. Peace efforts
A. General

At the same time that the formation of two rival systems of alliances provided an underlying cause for war, strenuous efforts were being made for peace. Societies were organized to spread propaganda in favor of peace, books were written showing the futility of war, and arbitration was urged as a better method of settling international disputes. One of the chief efforts to preserve peace was the calling of the Hague Peace Conferences. The First Hague Conference was called by Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia. The proposal was made that the nations should agree to a limitation of armaments, but the proposal was blocked. Various rules to make warfare more humane were adopted, and, most important of all, a Permanent Court of Arbitration was established. Although its jurisdiction was limited to cases not involving honor or vital interest, it was a beginning. The Second Hague Conference met a few years later, and again the powers refused to agree to a limitation of armaments. More rules of warfare were adopted, but little was done to restrain the forces drawing Europe into a general war.

B. First Hague Conference, 1899

C. Second Hague Conference, 1907

V. Diplomatic crises

A. General character

One of the most important forces of this kind was a succession of diplomatic crises in which some dispute threatened to cause war. In each crisis the powers of one system of alliances found themselves arrayed against the powers of the other system. The result in each case was a diplomatic defeat for one of the powers. This meant a serious loss in prestige, and the loss in prestige was shared by the other members of the system. Thus the conviction was fastened in the minds of the diplomats of Europe that the members of one system of alliances could not afford to allow one of their allies to suffer a diplomatic defeat. The first important crisis of this kind was brought about by the expansion of France in Morocco. In 1905 Germany tried to prevent it and failed, but at the same time she humiliated France by forcing Delcassé, the minister of foreign affairs, to resign. The next crisis was in the Balkans, 1908, when Austria, following a secret bargain with Russia, an-

B. Chief crises

nexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia, having failed to gain her share of the bargain, tried to prevent Austria from gaining hers. Germany supported Austria, even though she disapproved her action, and the result was a diplomatic victory for the Triple Alliance. Again in Morocco in 1911 Germany protested against French expansion, but this time the Triple Entente held firmly together, and Germany was forced to recognize a French protectorate in that country. However, she was compensated for her commercial interests by a valuable section of the French Congo. The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 again created a crisis in which Austria forced Serbia to relinquish much of the territory she had conquered. This series of diplomatic defeats for one side or the other increased the conviction that sooner or later a crisis would come in which neither could afford to yield.

C. Sarajevo murders

That crisis was caused by the Sarajevo murders. On Sunday, June 28, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria, was murdered in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The assassin was a Bosnian youth, who with his accomplices had been aroused by the propaganda of a Serbian society called the National Defense. This society aimed to unify a Greater Serbia around Serbia as a nucleus in the same way that Italy had been unified around Piedmont. To do this they would have to take away territory from Austria. The National Defense was closely associated with another society called the Black Hand, which advocated the use of murder and other forms of violence. Important officials of the Serbian government were members of both societies and shared in their attempt to excite the Serbs within Austria-Hungary to revolt. The Black Hand supplied the assassin of Franz Ferdinand with his weapon, and assisted him and his companions to cross the border into Bosnia.

VI. Outbreak of war
A. Austrian ultimatum

The Austrian government soon learned from the assassin, and from others who had joined in the plot, that it had been hatched in Belgrade. Though they were ignorant of all the details, they correctly suspected the Serbian government of complicity. Consequently they decided that the time had come when, in order to hold their Empire together, they must crush the anti-Austrian propaganda carried on by Serbia. First, they asked for full support from Germany in dealing with Serbia; and Germany, not realizing how serious were the measures which the Austrians contemplated, gave them a free hand. Under the leadership of Berchtold, the prime minister, the Austrian government decided to send to Serbia an ultimatum so severe that it could not be accepted. This would cause a war in which Serbia would be crushed so that never again could she threaten Austria. This war was to be kept localized between Austria and Serbia. The ultimatum demanded chiefly two things: that Serbia stop the anti-Austrian propaganda and that she punish those responsible for the murder of the archduke. In order to be sure that these demands were granted, Austria demanded a control over the Serbian government which seriously endangered its sovereignty.

July 23, 1914

B. Serbian reply, July 25, 1914

The Serbian reply to the Austrian ultimatum was a masterpiece of diplomacy. In appearance it yielded to all the Austrian demands, except those which endangered Serbia's sovereignty, and suggested that the matter be referred to the Hague Court. In reality the concessions it made were so carefully guarded that they were of little value, and the suggestion that such an important matter of national honor be referred to the Hague Court was so irregular that none of the powers of Europe took it seriously. Nevertheless, Serbia succeeded in convincing many people that she was an innocent little country oppressed by a big power, whereas she was really an accomplice to a brutal murder.

C. Russian mobilization

As soon as Sazonov, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, heard of the Austrian ultimatum, he and other Russian officials decided that they could not afford to let Austria crush Russia's ally, Serbia. That would mean too great an increase of Austrian power in the Balkans. Although Russia did not plan to attain her full military strength for three years, she felt ready for war in 1914. At first Sazonov thought all that would be necessary to restrain Austria would be a threat of war by a partial mobilization of the Russian army just against Austria. Unfortunately, in Russia's case a partial mobilization was impracticable, because it left her German frontier unprotected.

If Germany came to the defense of Austria, as she probably would, then a general mobilization would be necessary. By that time, however, it would be too late for a general mobilization, because a partial mobilization would have thrown all the plans for it into confusion. Consequently for these and many other reasons the Russian military commanders persuaded the tsar and Sazonov to order a general mobilization. The order was sent out by telegraph on July 30 two days after Austria declared war on Serbia. This was equivalent to a declaration of war against Germany, and that meant a general European War.

July 28, 1914

D. Mobilization of other powers

All the other powers realized this and at once mobilized. The French order was issued two days after that by Russia, just fifteen minutes before that by Germany. Great Britain already happened to have her fleet mobilized, because it had been concentrated for summer maneuvers and simply remained concentrated. As a matter of proper observance of form Germany sent ultimatums to Russia and France before she ordered mobilization, and then, before her troops crossed their borders, declared war. Thus Germany was technically responsible for declaring war on Russia and France, but in reality the Russian order for general mobilization started the conflict between them. England hesitated for a few days, because public opinion was not in favor of going to war over a Balkan issue. Her obligations to France and Russia added to other reasons made her antagonistic to the central powers. Finally, when Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium in order to invade France along her weakest border, Great Britain declared war on Germany.

Aug. 1, Aug. 3, 1914

Aug. 4, 1914

VII. Causes for World War
A. Underlying causes

The causes of the World War may be briefly summarized in two groups. First, the underlying causes of the war were mainly the following. The system of alliances, which forced each group of powers to place the maintenance of the solidarity of their alliance above the maintenance of peace, tended to make war easier. The idea that war was inevitable grew until it became almost a subconscious conviction. By 1914 the only question for many people was whether the time had come. Another underlying cause was militarism in all its various aspects. Of these one of the worst was the development of a system of warfare in which the distinction between offensive and defensive war was so completely obliterated that practically every country that went to war in 1914 believed it fought in defense. Under cover of the phrase "military necessity" anything was justified and countries were forced into war.

B. Immediate causes

There were chiefly four immediate causes for the war. The first was the murder of Franz Ferdinand, which caused the crisis. The second was Serbian duplicity. Not only did the Serbian government permit the plot to be formed, but important officials even aided it and protected some of the accomplices afterwards. Had the nations known the truth about Serbia's conduct, the war spirit would not have been so strong. The third was the determination of Austria to wage a local war against Serbia. To localize such a war was impossible, because the interests of other countries were too deeply involved. The fourth was general mobilization by Russia. Even if general mobilization was necessary, Russia was far too hasty in ordering it, and so was chiefly to blame for precipitating a European war.

Conclusion

There is still much to learn about the causes of the World War. It is now evident that the old idea that Germany plotted a war and pushed Austria on is false. When France and Serbia are willing to put their case frankly before the world by publishing the material in their archives, then historians can more safely decide why the war began.

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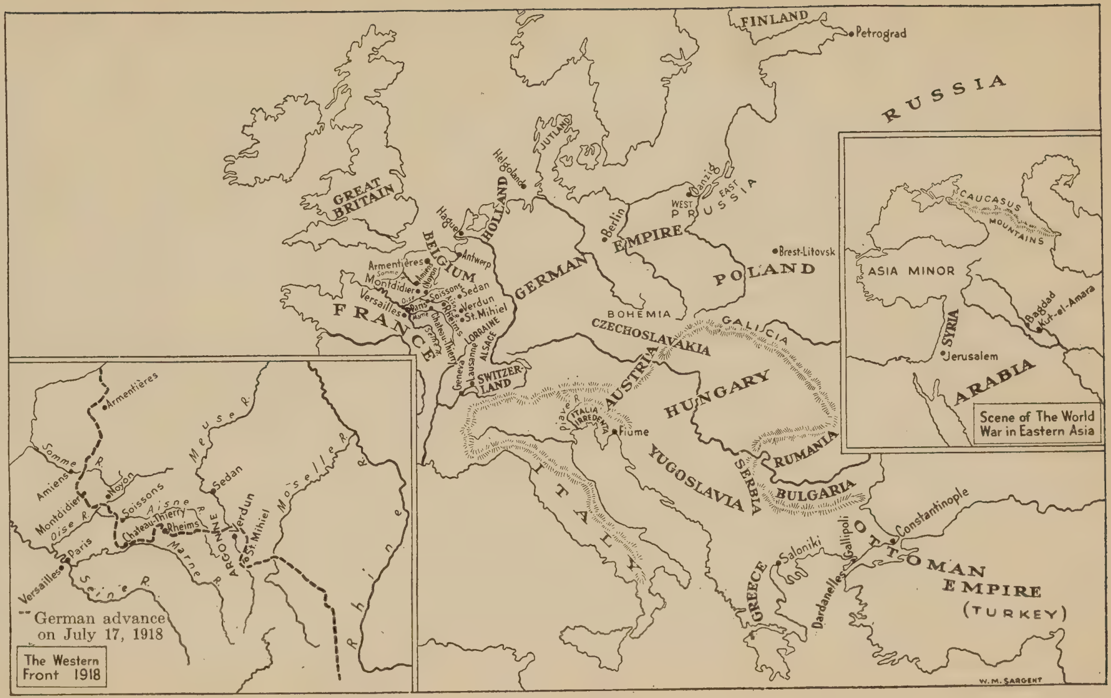
FINLAND
Petrograd
RUSSIA
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
Helgoland
JUTLAND
Hague
Antwerp
BELGIUM
Armentières
Somme
Amiens
Noyon
Montdidier
Soissons
Sedan
Verdun
St. Mihiel
Versailles
Paris
Marne
Rheims
Chateau-Thierry
Seine R.
FRANCE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Lausanne
Geneva
SWITZERLAND
GERMAN EMPIRE
Berlin
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
Brest-Litovsk
POLAND
BOHEMIA
CZECHOSLAVAKIA
GALICIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Piave R.
ITALIA IRREDENTA
Fiume
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
SERBIA
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
Saloniki
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
(TURKEY)
CAUCASUS MOUNTAINS
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
Jerusalem
Bagdad
Kut-el-Amara
ARABIA
Scene of The World War in Eastern Asia
Armentières
Somme R.
Amiens
Noyon
Montdidier
Oise R.
Soissons
Aisne R.
Chateau-Thierry
Rheims
Paris
Versailles
Seine R.
Marne R.
ARGONNE
Sedan
Meuse R.
Verdun
St. Mihiel
Moselle R.
Rhine R.
German advance on July 17, 1918
The Western Front 1918
W. M. SARGENT

THE WORLD WAR

CHAPTER XLIV

THE FIRST PART OF THE WORLD WAR

I. German invasion of Belgium and France
A. German plan

Long before the World War began, the German General Staff had devised a plan of campaign for the war. According to this plan they would attack France first, since France could mobilize much faster than Russia. Then after France had been decisively defeated they would turn against Russia. The success of this plan depended upon a quick victory over France, and in order to obtain it the Germans decided to attack France not along the Franco-German frontier, where the country was mountainous and the French fortresses strong, but along the Belgian frontier, where the country was relatively flat and the fortresses weak. To do this they had to march through Belgium. The chief obstacle to this plan was that many years before this Prussia had signed a treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. However, the Germans disregarded it, and issued an ultimatum to Belgium that she must either let them pass through or they would make war on her. The Belgians decided to maintain their neutrality, and resisted the German army so well that it took the Germans eighteen days instead of six to reach the French border. This violation of Belgian neutrality proved to be a serious error, for it not only led the Germans into unexpected resistance in Belgium, but it also induced Great Britain to join the allies.

1839

B. Invasion of Belgium

Aug. 23, 1914

C. French plan

The French plan of campaign was to advance across the German frontier, and, in case the Germans invaded France through Belgium, to make such a vigorous counter-attack in Alsace that the mass of the German army would have to be shifted there. However, the French counter-attack failed. It was then necessary to transfer the mass of the troops hurriedly to a line that would defend Paris from the German advance. Fortunately for France the British army crossed the Channel in time and met the Germans at the Belgian frontier. With their

D. Invasion of France, Aug. 22, 1914

help the French were able to slow up the German advance sufficiently to give the main army time to reach its position before Paris.

E. First Battle of the Marne Sept. 6–12, 1914

At last when the German army was so near to Paris that their advance guard could almost see the towers of the city, the French launched their counter-attack in the First Battle of the Marne. The battle raged for seven days. The Germans were caught unprepared, because the rapidity of their advance had disorganized their army. Paris was saved and the German army was driven back to a line along the river Aisne. It was one of the most important battles of the war, and General Joffre who directed it was the hero of the French people.

F. Push for Channel ports

After the Germans had established their line on the Aisne, they made a push to capture the Channel ports. These controlled the communications across the Channel with England, and if the Germans could seize them it would make the task of transporting British troops and materials to France more difficult. However, in the race for the ports the British won, and kept the Germans back of a line north of the city of Ypres.

G. Conquest of Belgium Oct. 10, 1914

The next move of the Germans was to conquer the rest of Belgium. Antwerp, a fortress long supposed to be impregnable, was quickly taken, and this deprived the Belgian army of its base. It was forced to retreat along the coast, and all but a small part of Belgium was completely occupied by the Germans. This was a great advantage for Germany because Belgium was forced to make rich contributions in money and supplies. Besides, it provided a fine base for air attacks upon England. However, it was often necessary to terrorize the Belgians with brutal treatment to keep them in subjection, and exaggerated stories of this brutality were spread by the allies (as the powers of the Triple Entente were called) arousing a great deal of hatred against the Germans.

II. Eastern front
A. Russian advance

Meanwhile on the eastern front Russia made an advance as victorious as that of the Germans in the west. The Russians mobilized far more quickly than anybody had expected, largely because they began preparatory measures more than a week before they ordered the general mobilization that was equivalent to war. They poured across the boundary of Germany into

East Prussia and invaded Galicia along the Austrian frontier. They advanced so rapidly into Prussia that large numbers of German troops were recalled from the western front, and this was one reason for their defeat in the First Battle of the Marne. General von Hindenburg, who had been retired for old age, was recalled because of his unequaled knowledge of the geography of East Prussia, and with General Ludendorff to assist him was given command of the German army. The two men were well chosen, for in a few weeks they caught the Russians in a trap and defeated them with heavy losses. In Galicia, however, the Russians continued to advance and by the middle of the next year had almost completely conquered the whole province. Then the Germans and Austrians were united under one command. Large numbers of troops were brought from the western front, and a terrific attack was made that rolled the Russians back into their own country with tremendous losses. It was a terrible defeat and for a time Russia was practically unable to take any part in the war. But in 1916 the Russians had recovered, and when the Austrians were weakened by large withdrawals of troops to other areas, they once more invaded Galicia and occupied most of the country. They took a large number of prisoners and captured huge supplies of munitions.

B. Russian defeat

Aug. 26–31, 1914

May 1, 1915

C. Russian advance, 1916

June 4, 1914

Still another area in which the World War was waged was the Balkan peninsula. There all the Balkan countries were destined to become involved in the war. Turkey was friendly to the central powers from the first and her conduct toward the allies was so hostile that they declared war upon her. This placed Russia in a serious position, because Turkey controlled the Dardanelles through which Russia would naturally have received her supplies. Consequently the allies decided to make an attempt to capture the Straits. A powerful British and French fleet was assembled which tried to force its way through the Dardanelles. But the land forts proved to be too strong for them, and after several ships had been sunk the fleet retired. Then the British tried to capture the Dardanelles from the rear by landing an army of colonial troops upon the mountainous peninsula of Gallipoli. It was a foolish venture, for

III. Balkans

A. Turkey

Nov., 1914

Feb. 19, 1915

the troops were landed only after terrible losses, and then they found themselves faced with a hopeless task. After many weeks of terrible sufferings it was decided to give up the attempt, and the army was transferred to Saloniki. The Dardanelles campaign proved to be one of the most awful blunders of the war.

B. Serbia

Serbia was attacked by Austria as soon as war was declared in July, 1914. But the Serbian army proved to be remarkably efficient, and besides, the intervention of Russia forced Austria to swing most of her army to the Austrian frontier. Three times the Austrians invaded Serbia only to be repulsed each time. The tide turned when the central powers offered Bulgaria a better bargain to join them than the allies could offer, and Bulgaria declared war on the allies. This caught Serbia between two foes. Besides, the Russians had just been defeated and the Germans came to the help of the Austrians in the Balkans. Serbia was soon conquered and the whole country occupied. What there was left of the Serbian army was fortunate in reaching the allied lines.

Sept. 6, 1915

Oct. 7, 1915–Jan 1, 1916

C. Rumania

Rumania at the beginning of the war declared her neutrality, claiming that her treaty with the Triple Alliance bound her to join them only in case of a defensive war. For a long time Rumania hesitated to join either side until one was more clearly victorious. The allies could of course offer her better terms in the shape of large slices of Hungarian territory, and when Russia made her second great advance in 1916 Rumania decided to cast her lot with the allies. The results were disappointing. The Rumanian army proved to be inefficient. The allies were unable to give it much support, and in a few months the little country was completely conquered by the central powers. Finally Rumania was forced to sign a treaty of peace by which she withdrew from the war.

Aug. 27, 1916

Jan., 1917

May 7, 1918

D. Greece

Greece for a long time maintained a neutrality that was a worry to the allies because their army at Saloniki was unable to advance as long as there was danger that the Greeks might attack them in the rear. Finally the allies seized the Greek navy, forced the king to abdicate and by other measures compelled the Greeks to join them in the war.

IV. Italian front

A. Entry of Italy

The Italian front was the fourth important front on which the World War was waged in Europe. Italy like Rumania declared her neutrality at first on the ground that she was only obligated to help the Triple Alliance in case of a defensive war. Then she bargained shrewdly and unscrupulously with both sides to see which would offer the best terms for her assistance. In these negotiations the allies had the upper hand, for they could offer Italy far larger portions of Austria than Austria was willing to give away, so finally Italy joined the allies. However, the assistance of Italy did not prove to be as valuable as they had hoped. The country through which the Italians had to fight in order to invade Austria was mountainous, and their advance was necessarily slow. After the central powers had defeated Russia and Serbia, the victorious Austrians turned upon the Italians in 1916 and drove them back a long distance. Then, however, the Italians, aided by a Russian drive on the other side of Austria, recovered and won back more than all the territory they had lost.

May 23, 1915

B. Slow advance

C. Reverse and recovery

May–June, 1916

V. War outside of Europe

A. Other countries

The war is fittingly called the World War because much of the fighting was done outside of Europe. Moreover, as the war progressed one country after another all over the world joined the allies in the fight against Germany, either because they felt themselves threatened by Germany or wanted to profit from her helplessness to seize German property. Of these countries one of the most important was Japan. Japan soon joined England and France. In a few weeks she conquered Kiao-chow, the chief German city in China, and occupied the province of Shantung.

Aug. 23, 1914

Nov. 10, 1914

B. Conquest of Ottoman Empire

The Asiatic part of the Ottoman Empire was another important war area outside of Europe. The British organized an army that attempted to march up from the Persian Gulf to Bagdad. Unfortunately the commander was too reckless and his army was captured at Kut-el-Amara. However, another British army was recruited and this time was successful in taking the city of Bagdad. Still another British force under General Allenby conducted a difficult and successful campaign in Syria that resulted in the capture of Jerusalem. Meanwhile Arabia, under the leadership of a British subject, declared its

April 29, 1916

March 11, 1917

Dec. 10, 1917

independence. Thus the Ottoman Empire lost practically all of its Asiatic possessions except Asia Minor.

C. Conquest of German colonies

Another important feature of the war outside of Europe was the conquest of the German colonies. England, France, Japan and Portugal joined forces to seize gradually all of the possessions of the German Empire in Africa, Asia and the various islands. Thus the colonial empire which Germany had prized so highly was lost. This was largely made possible by the fact that the allies controlled the sea.

VI. War on the sea

A. Work of British navy

The war on the sea was highly important and again proved the truth that for victory in war dominance upon the sea is usually essential. The British navy was of the greatest value to the allies. It cleared the sea not only of German merchantmen, but also of a few stray cruisers and raiders that were unable to reach Germany before war was declared and tried to prey upon allied commerce. It kept open and safe the route by which British soldiers and munitions were carried across to France. Also it established a blockade around Germany that shut off all sea trade which might help her win the war. Most of the German fleet was forced to take shelter in the German ports and only on one occasion did it dare to come out in full force. On that occasion the Germans hoped to isolate a portion of the British fleet in the North Sea and destroy it before the rest could come to its rescue. But the time was poorly chosen, because it happened that the British fleet was well concentrated. It pushed itself between the German fleet and its base and would have cut off its retreat, had not the approach of night given the Germans a chance to escape under cover of darkness. This was the battle of Jutland, the only general naval engagement of the whole war. The British losses were heaviest, but they remained in possession of the field.

B. Battle of Jutland

C. Submarine warfare

The most important part of the conflict on the sea was the submarine warfare waged by Germany. When the German fleet was blockaded, the Germans resorted to the use of submarines which could elude the British ships by traveling under the water till past the blockade. At first they were used only against warships. In February, 1915, however, Germany announced that they would be used also against merchant ships,

Feb. 4, 1915

except recognizable neutral ships, within a war zone around Great Britain. This was a vicious form of naval warfare because the submarine by its very nature could not afford to give warning before it fired, and it could not rescue more than a few persons, if any. The Germans argued that they were justified in such a merciless procedure by the fact that England had extended the list of contraband of war to include foodstuffs, and by preventing anybody from taking them to Germany was slowly starving the whole nation. However, this and other arguments were not enough to convince the world that Germany was right, and there was a vigorous protest. A submarine sank the British liner *Lusitania* without warning, and over twelve hundred lives were lost, including more than one hundred Americans. Finally the sinking of the *Sussex* caused the United States to warn Germany again that she must stop her submarine war on merchant ships or the United States would be forced to join the allies. Germany then agreed to stop. She yielded, not only to avoid increasing the number of her enemies, but also because the submarines had failed to achieve any real success.

May 7, 1915

May, 1916

VII. New methods of warfare

The World War was characterized by the innovation of many new methods of warfare or their improvement. War under the sea was waged by submarines. War in the air became far more extensive through the use of the airplane and the airship. The Germans invented a new and much larger type of airship called the Zeppelin. With these they raided England and France. The war on the land, especially on the western front, was almost entirely a war by trenches. For six hundred miles from the coast to Switzerland there was a long line of trenches more elaborate than any ever built before. Poison gas became one of the most effective and terrible forms of killing other men. The British introduced the use of tanks — huge armored tractors on caterpillar belts that could travel over trenches, mud and almost any other kind of uneven country. Camouflage, the use of painted scenery and other forms of disguises, became a very important element in hiding artillery and the movements of troops. The artillery adopted a form of bombardment called the barrage by which they literally put a curtain of falling projectiles in front of advancing troops and pushed it forward as the troops advanced. One of the most important new methods of the war was the elaborate organization of the civilian population so that the whole resources of the nation could be used to achieve victory. Agriculture, industry, commerce in foodstuffs and other activities were all closely regulated by special commissions so that the resources of the country might be employed to the best advantage.

VIII. Western front, 1916–1917

After the First Battle of the Marne there was no decisive fighting on the western front for nearly a year and a half. The allies were engaged in making their attack on the Dardanelles and Germany was using her power to crush Russia and Serbia. By the end of 1915 Germany had won the victory on the eastern and Balkan fronts, but she was still far from winning the war. In order to inflict a decisive defeat upon the allies Germany prepared to make a supreme effort in 1916 against Verdun, the center of a strong group of forts on the French frontier. A triumph there would cripple the allies beyond recovery. Vast numbers of men and huge supplies of munitions were gathered and then a terrific attack was launched in February. The French rallied to the defense of Verdun with all the strength they possessed. Marshal Pétain gave to his troops the watchword, " They shall not pass," and, though the battle raged furiously for month after month, by the end of June the Germans had not only failed to capture Verdun, but the French had even regained some of the ground they had lost. One reason for the French success was that the British in the last week of June started a drive against the German trenches along the river Somme so that the Germans had to shift men to that sector. The British too had learned the advantage of accumulating vast supplies of munitions and men, so that they were able to keep up the attack for many months until the coming of winter made fighting impossible. By that time the British had not advanced many miles, and their losses had been terrific; yet they had shown that the German lines were not impregnable and they had saved Verdun. The Germans could no longer claim a military superiority. In the next year the German forces made a strategic retreat a short distance to a

A. Battle of Verdun

Feb. 21, 1916

B. Battle of the Somme, June–Nov., 1916

C. German retreat to the Hindenburg line new line of elaborately constructed trenches. This was called by the allies the Hindenburg line. It was supposed to be too strong to break, until the British in a new attack showed that that idea was false and again advanced a few miles. However, the allies found that it was impossible to break clear through the German lines, so they resorted to a wearing-down strategy of small attacks to exhaust the German man-power.

IX. Italian disaster of the Piave

The year 1917 was on the whole a disastrous one for the allies. One of their worst misfortunes was on the Italian front. There the Italians had advanced their line far beyond the Austrian border. This exposed their flank dangerously to an attack from the Alps. Ludendorff saw this weakness and planned a campaign in which combined German and Austrian forces poured down through the mountains from the north, caught the Italians in a trap and threatened to cut off their retreat to a safe position. Most of the Italian army retreated in utter confusion, while part of it managed to keep order and hold back the enemy until a strong line was established along the River Piave. Though Italy and the Italian army were saved, the disaster of the Piave had cost an enormous loss in prisoners and munitions taken by the central powers.

X. Russian Revolution, 1917

A. Causes

Another great disaster for the allies in 1917 was the Russian Revolution. At the beginning of the war a wild enthusiasm had unified the Russian people, but as defeat followed defeat the conviction grew that the country was being betrayed by corrupt officials. Some even said that the tsar was in the pay of the Germans. Thus there developed three of the most powerful causes for revolution; first, a coalition of discontented parties; second, a mutinous army; and third, a condition of chaos in administration that brought on a shortage of foodstuffs so serious that in the winter of 1916–1917 the people were starving. The revolution began with riots and strikes in Petrograd (the new, Russian name for St. Petersburg). The soldiers were ordered to fire upon the people but refused. The duma, which disobeyed an order of the tsar to disperse, called upon the monarch to abdicate and his lack of support forced him to consent. His brother refused to take the throne unless it was offered to him by a constituent assembly elected by universal

B. Outbreak, March 8, 1917

March 15, 1917

suffrage. The revolutionists refused to agree to these terms and since nobody else was willing or qualified to supplant him as the heir, Russia automatically became a republic.

C. Provisional government

A provisional government was organized representing the bourgeoisie, and many typical democratic reforms were made. Throughout the nation councils of representatives of the workingmen, peasants and soldiers were formed called soviets. These soviets sent representatives to an All-Russian Congress of Soviets at Petrograd. The provisional government found that it faced a very difficult task and twice it was reorganized with a new ministry so as to gain more support from the country. In the second ministry the most important member was a Socialist leader named Kerensky. Still there was a great deal of discontent with the provisional government.

April, 1917

D. Bolshevik revolution

This discontent came chiefly from the Bolshevists, the majority wing of the Social Democrats. They were led by the father of Bolshevism, Nicholai Lenin. One of their fundamental principles was not to unite with the bourgeoisie as Kerensky had done, for they claimed that the bourgeoisie had always betrayed the proletariat. They formulated a definite program aimed to appeal to the masses, in which the chief points were immediate withdrawal from the war, the confiscation of the landed estates and factories, government by soviets, and the exclusion of the propertied classes from the government. Very skillfully they prepared for a revolution that would put them in control of the government. On the night of November 6, 1917, the Bolshevik revolution began and the next day all the members of the provisional government were arrested except Kerensky, who had escaped. In a few days the Bolshevists were in complete control of Russia and began at once to put their program into action. The landed estates were confiscated and apportioned to the peasants by the soviets. The factories were taken by the government and put under the management of the workingmen. The government was reorganized on a graded system of soviets and an armistice was made with Germany.

Dec. 3, 1917

The peace negotiations which followed the armistice with Germany were long drawn out. Germany demanded such heavy terms that the Bolshevists even refused to sign a treaty, but an advance of the German army changed their minds and they finally signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. By this treaty Russia ceded to Germany vast areas, mostly inhabited by subject nationalities, such as Poland. Other districts such as Finland were given their independence. An indemnity of a billion and a half dollars was promised to Germany and she was also given important economic concessions. It was a humiliating treaty for Russia, but in one way it strengthened the country, because the loss of non-Russian peoples increased the solidarity of the nation.

E. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918

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CHAPTER XLV

THE LAST PART OF THE WORLD WAR

I. Entry of the United States

A. Causes

1. Submarine warfare

Feb. 1, 1917

2. Propaganda

3. Hostile acts

While the strength of the allies was weakened in 1917 by the loss of Russia, it was increased by the entry of the United States into the war on their side. At first sight it seems strange that a democracy far away across the Atlantic should enter a war started by the murder of an archduke in Sarajevo. The main reason why the American people were drawn into the conflict against their will was the submarine warfare. Germany renewed it and declared that every ship within the war zone would be sunk. The United States was permitted to send to England only one ship each week under heavy restrictions. This was a flagrant violation of the rights of neutrals against which the United States protested vigorously and vainly. A second cause for the entry of the United States was propaganda. Both sides subjected the Americans to a storm of propaganda as soon as the war began, but the propaganda of the allies was the most vigorous. So effectively did they exaggerate the atrocities committed in Belgium, for instance, that even well-informed Americans thought them more terrible than they were. The idea became prevalent in the United States that after the Germans had conquered all of Europe they would cross the Atlantic and conquer America next. Even many idealists who condemned war and its horrors decided that the best way to overcome war was to conquer Germany. A third cause for the entry of the United States was a series of hostile acts by Germany. For instance, agents were deliberately sent to foment strikes in factories manufacturing munitions for the allies, and an offer was made to Mexico of an alliance in case the United States joined the allies. This offer was intercepted and aroused the Americans against Germany.

B. Declaration of war

Two days after the submarine warfare was renewed the United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

Then when the sinking of merchant ships continued and more and more American lives were lost, President Wilson persuaded Congress to declare on April 6, 1917, that Germany was making war upon the United States. At once the United States made preparations for raising a huge army; part of the navy was sent to coöperate with the British; and an enormous shipbuilding program was adopted, by which hundreds of liners could be constructed at the rate of one in seventy days.

C. Wilson's Fourteen Points, Jan. 8, 1918

During the next winter President Wilson made a statement of war aims, known as the Fourteen Points, which coincided with a statement made by Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain at the same time. The chief aims for which Wilson said the allies were fighting were open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, the removal of economic barriers, the self-determination of peoples on a basis of nationalism, the evacuation of allied territory, and a league of nations to protect the rights of sovereign states. This was an idealistic program, and it won the support of thousands of idealists who did not know that there were secret treaties existing between the allies in which the aims were far more materialistic.

II. German drive, 1918

A. Causes

1. German optimism

2. Crucial situation

The next important episode in the history of the World War was the German drive of 1918, when Germany staked everything on one supreme effort. There were many reasons why the Germans resorted to this move. The first was that in the winter of 1917–1918 there was a revival of German optimism. During the preceding campaigns of the war Germany had subdued Russia, Rumania, Serbia, Belgium and Italy. Now she was able to concentrate all her troops on the western front and temporarily maintain a numerical superiority. The second reason was because Germany faced a crisis. If she would win victory, it must be now or never. Though she had been successful on so many fronts, it was absolutely essential that success be gained on the western front in 1918 or the case for Germany was hopeless. This was because the submarine war had failed. Though at first the submarines had sunk an alarming number of ships, the allies gradually developed a combination of tactics for fighting the submarine, so that by 1918 the under-sea boats were being sunk faster than they could be built, and the allies were building ships faster than the Germans could sink them. Fast motor-boats were equipped with artillery and used as submarine-chasers. Depth bombs were devised to destroy the submarines under the water, and convoys were employed with such success that fleets under their protection were perfectly safe. On the other hand the British blockade was so effective that food was becoming terribly scarce in Germany. Though the United States was so little prepared for war that she was not expected to count for much in 1918, it was certain that in another year her support would give the allies a big superiority. Thus the allies had a strangle hold upon Germany, and it was necessary for her to break it at once or she would never have the chance again. For these reasons Germany decided to risk all her fortunes on one last supreme effort.

B. Plan

The German plan was to accumulate a vast store of munitions and all the men available, so that there would be enough to last through many months of fighting. Ludendorff estimated that it would cost a million and a half soldiers to win victory. The attack would be made at the point where the French and the British lines joined, so as to separate them and drive the British back to the coast. New methods of attack would be used. Instead of the old method of a terrific bombardment lasting for several days in the attempt to obliterate the opposing trenches, large numbers of men would be concentrated secretly behind the lines; they would attack suddenly at night; picked soldiers would advance in small groups; machine gunners would clear gaps in the enemy's line; and the troops would then rush through.

C. First attack, March 21, 1918

The first attack was made as planned against the junction of the British and French lines and toward the important railroad center of Amiens. If they could reach that point, the Germans could seriously hamper communications between the allies. The new methods of attack were successful. The allies were surprised. They failed to coöperate and the French were slow in sending much needed reinforcements to their allies. For a time the British lines were completely broken apart, but the soldiers still fought so bravely that they united their lines

March 26, 1918
April 6, 1918

again and stopped the Germans not far from Amiens. Though the Germans had made a long advance they had failed to reach their objective.

D. Unification of allied command

March 25, 1918

The drive on Amiens finally convinced the allies that they must give the command of all their armies to one man. Such a unification of command had been sadly needed from the beginning of the war. Now they chose as their commander-in-chief Marshal Foch, a French general who had distinguished himself in the First Battle of the Marne. The good results of the decision were soon evident, for Foch was able to shift troops of any nationality to any part of the line where they were needed.

E. Later attacks

April 9–27, 1918

May 27–June 5, 1918

June 9–15, 1918

July 14–17, 1918

After the first drive toward Amiens, the Germans made other drives one after another at different points along the allied line. The next one was at Armentières, where they tried to push the British back and seize the Channel ports so essential for communications with England. But General Haig of the British army told his men to die at their posts rather than retreat, and, though they were forced back, they kept the Germans from making any decisive gains. The third time the Germans struck at the line between Soissons and Rheims, and again they caught the French unprepared. In a few days they pushed in a wide salient until they were on the banks of the Marne only a day's march from Paris. Then they attacked again in the Amiens sector, this time between Montdidier and Noyon, planning to unite that salient with the one on the Marne. However, Foch had learned of their plans and was ready. Though the Germans gained a few miles, they failed completely to attain their objective. The next drive was an attempt to advance on both sides of Rheims, capture the city and sweep on down the Marne to Paris. Again Foch was forewarned. He even knew the hour chosen for launching the attack and greatly demoralized it by bombarding the German lines a short time before. The allies were so well prepared to resist the drive that it was an utter failure.

III. Allied offensive

The Rheims attack came in the middle of July. Before it began Foch decided that as soon as it was repulsed the allies should launch an offensive of their own. By that time the losses of the Germans and the unexpected rapidity with which the American troops crossed the Atlantic had given the allies a superiority. The allied offensive began on July 18 on the Marne at Chateau-Thierry, and so was known as the Second Battle of the Marne. From that time on their forces steadily advanced all along the line. By the end of July the Soissons salient had been wiped out. The advance of the allied troops was continuous but slow, because as they advanced they had to reconstruct roads, bridges and railroads which the Germans had destroyed. Without these vital means of communication behind them it would have been dangerous for the soldiers to drive ahead. The German retreat was a masterpiece of strategy and the allied advance was no less skillfully performed. Foch took no chances. Finally Ludendorff and the other German generals admitted to their government that all was lost, but still the war went on with its awful bloodshed and suffering. The diplomats were slow in dickering over the overtures for peace, and meanwhile the soldiers, like a machine that keeps going until somebody stops it, continued to fight. In September the allies broke completely through the Hindenburg line. By that time the American forces were sufficiently large and well trained to take an important part in the conflict. They were given one of the most difficult sectors, where the country was wooded and hilly, so that it was difficult to advance. Nevertheless they won several notable victories. They captured the St. Mihiel salient. Then they pushed their way through the Argonne forest, and finally they seized the important railroad center of Sedan.

A. Superiority of allies

B. Second Battle of the Marne

C. Allied advance

Aug. 11–13, 1918

Sept. 12–16, 1918

Oct., 1918

Nov. 6, 1918

Meanwhile the central alliance had been breaking to pieces. In September the allied army in Saloniki felt strong enough to advance, and invaded Bulgaria. Bulgaria found herself at a great disadvantage and quickly came to terms. This left Turkey isolated and caught between the army in Asia and the army in the Balkans. A month after the Bulgarian collapse the Turks too capitulated. Austria had been having trouble with her subject nationalities for a long time. By October, 1918, practically all of them had seized the opportunity to break away and establish their independence. Even the duchy of

IV. Break-up of central alliance Sept. 15, 1918

A. Bulgaria, Sept. 25, 1918

B. Turkey, Oct. 31, 1918

Austria itself was in a state of chaos and the men in charge of the government had little power. An advance of the Italians encountered no effective resistance, and at last Austria signed an armistice with the allies by which she withdrew from the war.

C. Austria
Oct. 24, 1918
Nov. 3, 1918

Germany was the last of the central powers to yield. On the first day of October, Hindenburg advised the kaiser to start negotiations for peace. The first proposals were made to the United States, and Wilson replied that the United States could not negotiate with the existing imperial government, but only with one which was more representative of the people. Meanwhile the kaiser made reforms in the government which made it more democratic. Still the Germans were not satisfied and insistently demanded his abdication. To the last minute the kaiser refused, then consented and fled for refuge to Holland. Marshal Foch offered the provisional government an armistice which took away from Germany all means of continuing the war. Its terms were very severe, but on five o'clock on the morning of November 11 it was signed to go in effect at 11 A.M. on the same day. So intense was the hatred and suspicion aroused by the war that up until the last minute the guns continued to fire and blood continued to flow. Then suddenly all was quiet.

D. Germany
Nov. 9, 1918
Nov. 8, 1918

The Congress of Paris which met to arrange peace between the powers did not open until two months after the armistice. The defeated nations were not represented. The representatives of all the allied nations composed a plenary session. As a matter of fact, it seldom met and had little power. The actual work of the Congress was done at first by a Council of Ten consisting of two representatives from each of the largest powers; Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and Japan. However, it took so long to make progress that a Council of Four was organized, which made all the real decisions of the Peace Congress. The Council of Four, known as the Big Four, consisted of the chiefs of the greatest powers: Lloyd George of Great Britain, Wilson of the United States, Clemenceau of France and Orlando of Italy. Wilson was an idealist who strove to have the principles of his Fourteen Points embodied

V. Congress of Paris, Jan. 18, 1919
A. Organization
March 25, 1919

in the peace. Clemenceau was a materialist who was chiefly interested in inflicting revenge on Germany and safeguarding France. Lloyd George was in some respects an idealist and in some a materialist who mediated between the two. Orlando sought the advantage of Italy above everything else.

B. Various treaties

May 7, 1919

May 29, 1919

The peace congress drafted a series of treaties with the defeated countries. The treaty with Germany was known as the Treaty of Versailles. After it was completed it was given to the Germans to read and they were allowed to make a written criticism. They declared that it was unacceptable and submitted a long reply. A few of their suggestions were adopted, and then they were ordered to sign or hostilities would be renewed. Finding themselves helpless, they yielded, and finally signed the treaty at Versailles on June 28, 1919, just five years after the day when Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been murdered. The treaties with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria were based on the Treaty of Versailles with changes to fit them to the case of the particular country. The treaty with Turkey had a different history. A treaty was drawn up like the others and accepted by the sultan, but then a party of Turkish Nationalists led by a skillful general named Mustapha Kemal objected. They refused to accept it. When the Greeks, encouraged by the allies, invaded Asia Minor, they took up arms. Later they gained the more or less secret support of France and Italy. They drove the Greeks out of Asia Minor and declared Turkey a republic with Angora as the capital. Finally they met with the representatives of the allies at Lausanne to arrange a new treaty of peace. Practically all of their demands were granted, and thus in a sense the Treaty of Lausanne really ended the World War. Turkey was reduced to a state that included Asia Minor to the Caucasus Mountains and a small part of Europe around Constantinople. The Straits were internationalized. The Turks were allowed to maintain their army and navy unimpaired and were relieved of all obligations to make reparations.

1920–1921

1923

July 24, 1923

C. New countries established

One of the most important achievements of the Congress of Paris was the establishment of a number of new countries in Europe whose sovereignty was guaranteed by the various treaties. Of these new countries the most important were Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and a group of Baltic countries on the eastern shore of the Baltic. Yugoslavia was a combination of Serbia with the districts which the Serbs wanted to see united into a Greater Serbia. Most of its territory was gained by acquisitions from Austria. At the peace congress there was a violent dispute whether the port of Fiume on the Adriatic should belong to Italy or Yugoslavia. During the war it had been promised to Italy, and the city itself was mainly Italian in population, but it was the only possible outlet to the sea for Yugoslavia. The peace congress was unable to decide the question, and so it was referred to the two countries. After long negotiations they finally agreed that Fiume should be given to Italy, and that Yugoslavia should receive a suburb with adequate harbor facilities. Czechoslovakia was the new name for Bohemia with the addition of other provinces inhabited by the same or kindred races. Poland was reëstablished and given West Prussia in addition, not only because it was inhabited mainly by Poles, but also in order that Poland might have a corridor to the sea. However, Danzig, the chief port in the corridor was made a free city, and special provisions were made by which Germany was given rights of transportation and trade across Poland to East Prussia.

VI. Treaty of Versailles

A. Disarmament of Germany

The Treaty of Versailles with Germany was an elaborate document. One section of its provisions dealt with measures for the disarmament of Germany. She was allowed to have a small standing army of only 100,000 men, and the methods of recruiting were carefully restricted so that it could not be used to build up a large reserve army, as Prussia had done in Napoleonic times. Universal military service was thus abolished in Germany. The navy was also reduced to a few ships so that it was of little value except for defense against disorder. No air force was permitted and no submarines. Many fortifications, such as Helgoland, were destroyed and no fortifications were allowed within more than twenty-five miles of the east bank of the Rhine. This meant that Germany was so completely disarmed that she was unable to wage war even with such a small state as Belgium. It was a great benefit to Germany and the rest of Europe. It relieved Germany of the needless financial burden of a heavy armament, and it relieved Europe of the fear of Germany which was the chief potential cause for war with her. Moreover, it was generally understood that the other powers would in the course of time proceed to disarm.

B. German losses of territory

Another section of the Treaty of Versailles took away from Germany large portions of her territory. This and other similar actions of the peace congress showed that the war, which most of the nations had begun as a defensive measure, had become a war for conquest. In other words, while defensive and offensive war can be distinguished in theory they cannot be separated in practice. France was given Alsace-Lorraine. Poland, as stated, was given most of the portions of Germany inhabited by Poles. Other sections of Germany were given the right to decide by a plebiscite whether they wished to remain or separate, with the result that some of them decided to unite with other countries. Some of the German colonies were given away, but most of them were changed into mandates under the guardianship of some strong nation.

C. Technical provisions

A large part of the Treaty of Versailles was concerned with technical provisions about trade relations and other affairs, some of which had little to do with the war.

D. League of Nations

1. Covenant

The first part of the treaty, and perhaps the most important part, provided for the erection of a League of Nations such as that Wilson had demanded in his Fourteen Points. The covenant, or constitution, of the League was incorporated in the treaty so that all who signed the treaty would be obliged to support the League. During the next decade the actual operation of the League changed its nature somewhat, so that the League had the following features. The headquarters of the League were established at Geneva, the beautiful city on the Rhone in Switzerland.

2. Headquarters

3. Assembly

The League was divided into three bodies. The first of these was the Assembly. The Assembly had two kinds of members from each country; (1) one voting member and (2) not more than three representatives with power to sit on committees and perform other duties. The second part of the League was the

Council, composed of one permanent representative from each of the five most powerful countries — Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany — and nine non-permanent members. It was intended that the United States should be a member of the Council, but the Americans, chiefly because they were afraid of being entangled again in foreign disputes, refused to join the League or even to sign the Treaty of Versailles containing it. Nevertheless the United States coöperated in many ways with the League. In addition to the five representatives appointed to the Council by their countries there were nine non-permanent members elected by the Assembly. The Council had far more power than the Assembly and was practically the executive part of the League. The third part of the League was the Secretarial Force.

4. Council

5. Secretarial force

The covenant of the League provided a form of procedure for preventing war, which was obligatory upon the members. One of the most important functions of the League was the supervision of the mandates established by the peace congress. These were certain territories once belonging to the central powers. Instead of being annexed by the allies, they were put under the guardianship of advanced nations until they were capable of self-government. The countries having charge of the mandates were required to make an annual report to the League. In still other ways the League was useful in administering the provisions of treaties made at Paris and afterwards. For example, it took care that provisions in the treaties safeguarding the rights of small populations of a different race in any country (known as minorities) were observed. One of the most important agencies of the League was the Permanent Court of International Justice, known as the World Court, at the Hague. The Hague Court of Arbitration (Hague Tribunal), erected at the First Hague Conference, consisted merely of a list of jurists upon whom nations could call to arbitrate their disputes. The World Court had a permanent personnel with compulsory jurisdiction over the members of the League on certain matters. It was a court of law, not arbitration. Another important agency of the League was the International Labor Organization, which did much to improve industrial con-

6. Procedure to prevent war

7. Supervision of mandates

8. Administration of treaties

9. Permanent Court of International Justice

10. International Labor Organization

ditions throughout the world. The League of Nations was frankly an experiment when it was established by the Congress of Paris. Within a decade it demonstrated its value so effectively that it ceased to be an experiment and became an indispensable factor in the world.

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3. **Lloyd George's Statement of War Aims and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points,** W. H. Cooke and E. P. Stickney, *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879,* 538–551.
4. **Wilson's First Note to Germany, His Message to Congress and the Fourteen Points,** F. W. Scott and F. Baltzly, *Readings in European History Since 1814,* 522–532.
5. **The Entrance of the United States,** J. B. McMaster, *The United States in the World War,* I, 351–365.
6. **Germany's Supreme Effort,** C. J. H. Hayes, *A Brief History of the Great War,* 299–325.
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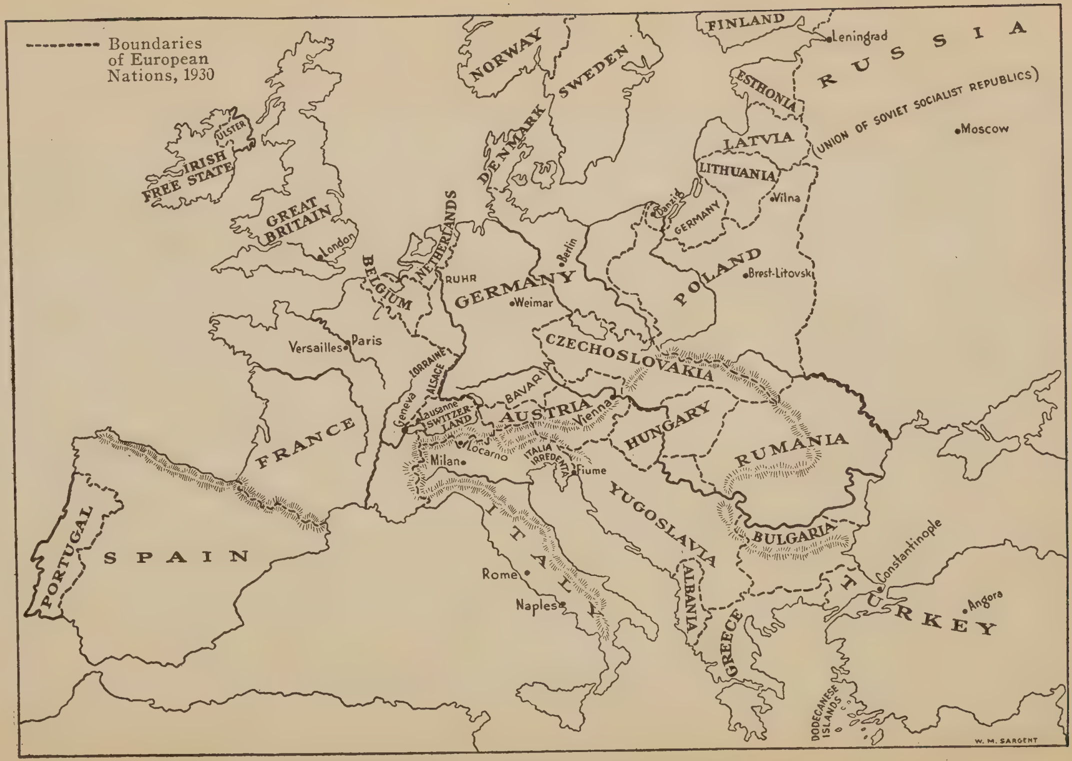
Boundaries of European Nations, 1930
FINLAND
Leningrad
RUSSIA
(UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS)
Moscow
ESTHONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilna
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
IRISH FREE STATE
ULSTER
GREAT BRITAIN
London
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
RUHR
GERMANY
Berlin
Weimar
Danzig
GERMANY
POLAND
Brest-Litovsk
Versailles
Paris
FRANCE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Geneva
Lausanne
SWITZERLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Locarno
Milan
ITALIA IRREDENTA
Fiume
YUGOSLAVIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
Naples
ALBANIA
GREECE
BULGARIA
Constantinople
TURKEY
Angora
DODECANESE ISLANDS
W. M. SARGENT

Post War Europe

CHAPTER XLVI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE POST–WAR PERIOD

I. The new map of Europe

A. Former states

During the post-war period the frontiers of the various countries gradually became fixed until there appeared a new and different map of Europe from that in 1914. First, there were the former states, which had existed before the war. Of these some had the same boundaries, either because they had taken no part in the war, or because their share in the fighting had been a subordinate one. Such were Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Great Britain alone of all the states actively engaged in the war made no territorial changes in Europe. The others either gained or lost territory as a result of the war. France gained Alsace-Lorraine. Belgium was given a small district on the German frontier. Italy secured practically all of Italia Irredenta around the northeastern shores of the Adriatic. Germany lost heavily and so did Russia. In the Balkans, Rumania practically doubled in size while Bulgaria was greatly reduced in area. Greece made small gains, but Turkey was left with only a little district around Constantinople. The land on both sides of the Straits was demilitarized and put under an international protectorate. This arrangement, however, was mainly a matter of words, because it was evident that in time of war Turkey could probably seize the Straits before any other nation. On the new map of Europe there appeared an important group of new countries known as the Russian borderlands; that is, the countries which bordered on Russia.

B. Russian borderlands

While the former states of Rumania and Germany might be included in this group, the name was applied especially to the Baltic states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Another group of new states was the succession states; that is, the states which were given territory which had previously belonged to Austria-Hungary. Czecho-

C. Succession states

slovakia was formed by a union of Bohemia (inhabited mainly by Czechs), Slovakia and other provinces. Austria inherited the original nucleus of the Empire around Vienna. Hungary consisted of what was left of the Kingdom of Hungary after large portions had been given away. Yugoslavia was a large nation constructed by a union of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and other provinces. The new map of Europe was more complex and its boundaries more complicated than Europe in 1914.

II. German reparations

One of the chief international problems of Europe in the post-war period was German reparations. This was a thorny question and caused a great deal of wrangling at the Congress of Paris. Finally it was decided and stated in the Treaty of Versailles: first, that " Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." Second, that Germany should pay for only the damage done by the war, except in the case of Belgium, where all the costs should be paid. Third, since for various reasons it was impossible to estimate the damages immediately, Germany should pay forty billion gold marks within the next two years and also make contributions of animals, tools, books and similar articles to replace those the allies had lost. Fourth, a reparations commission was appointed to fix the total amount which Germany should pay, and the method of payment. This reparations decision was one of the weakest parts of the Treaty of Versailles. It was founded upon the false assumption that Germany and her allies were responsible for the war, and its method of dealing with the matter was destined to cause great injury not only to Germany but to all the rest of the world as well.

A. Provisions of Treaty of Versailles

B. London Conference, March, 1921

Before the time limit for fixing the total amount expired, the London Conference was held between Germany and the allies to try to set the total by negotiation. Germany offered to pay thirty billion marks, an amount which was reasonable and practicable. The allies, however, rejected it disdainfully as far too small. Compared with the damage done by the war it was small, but from the point of view of a valid financial transaction it was a good figure. The conference failed to reach an agreement and the matter was left in the hands of the reparations commission.

C. Ultimatum, April 28, 1921

The commission finally came to a decision on the matter and notified Germany that she must pay a total of one hundred and thirty-two billion marks, in addition to other payments.[1] Though Germany replied that this was a fabulous and impossible sum, she was forced by an ultimatum from the allies to accept the decision. The demand for such an enormous amount made the Germans think that the allies, especially France, were not acting in good faith, but were covertly seeking to ruin Germany. Consequently the Germans felt justified in resisting the payment of reparations. It was extremely difficult for Germany to pay anything, because payments of such large amounts could not be made in cash, but only in the form of the transfer of credits held by Germany in other countries. On the other hand the war had wiped out all German credits abroad. Moreover, Germany could not pay from the profits of her industries, because they depended largely upon supplies of raw materials which must be bought abroad. Until the industries were well started, Germany had to pay for these materials with cash instead of with credits, as was usually done, and thus her supply of cash was quickly exhausted. Besides, when German capitalists saw the huge amount which was demanded of their country, they hastened to put their capital in a safe place by investing it abroad where the German government could not touch it. Thus it became practically an impossibility for Germany to pay the reparations. The first payment was met by printing paper money and inflating the currency. When the time for the next installment came, Germany declared she was unable to meet it. Many months later she was granted a partial moratorium for the rest of the year, yet the obligation was still too heavy, and Germany finally said that she was unable to pay anything at all.

May 11, 1921

Aug. 31, 1921

March 21, 1921

Nov. 14, 1922

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[1] By that time Germany had paid only about two and one-half billion marks instead of the forty billion she was expected to pay.

D. Division of policy between Great Britain and France

Just at the time when the problem of reparations reached this deadlock, Great Britain and France disagreed in their policy on the matter. Great Britain had experienced a period of prosperity just after the war, because other countries were greatly in need of her manufactured products for reconstruction. In a couple of years, however, this market was exhausted, 1920 the boom collapsed, and a period of depression began. Unemployment 1921 increased until it became a terrific problem. Consequently Great Britain was anxious to find foreign markets for her manufactured goods. Before the war Germany had been one of her best customers. Now the English statesmen decided that the proper policy was not to press Germany too hard, but to give her an opportunity to recover her economic stability so that she could again become a buyer of British goods. France on the other hand, was spending enormous sums of money after the war in the reconstruction of the devastated areas. She expected to recover this money from German reparation payments, but this expectation was disappointed. A strong nationalist party led by Poincaré believed that the Germans were able to pay and were merely acting in bad faith. Consequently they asserted that Germany should be forced to keep her obligations. Though the British protested against such a policy, the French decided to apply it just the same.

E. Occupation of the Ruhr, Jan. 11, 1923

To compel Germany to pay, a French and Belgian army marched into the Ruhr district around the Ruhr River. This was the main field of the industrial and coal mining activities of Germany, and thus the heart of her economic life. The French intended to use the profits from this area to secure a part of the reparations and at the same time to force Germany into obedience by paralyzing the industrial and commercial life of the nation. The German government resorted to a scheme of passive resistance. They ordered the inhabitants of the Ruhr not to work for the French, nor coöperate with them in any way, and offered to recompense them for any losses suffered on this account. The French tried to force the Germans to work for them by fines, imprisonment, exile and other punishments. The result was a bitter struggle in which Sept. 26, 1923 many people lost their lives. Finally the German government had to yield, because its financial resources were not equal to the demands made upon them. In fact, so much paper money was printed that the paper mark became practically worthless, and the ministry which had conducted the resistance resigned. The new ministry led by Stresemann abandoned passive resistance. On the other hand the French found that occupation was not profitable enough to compensate for reparations. As a punitive expedition it was a success — as a financial venture, it was a failure. For several months after the Germans yielded nothing was done about the matter.

Aug. 12, 1923

F. Dawes Plan

The Ruhr occupation had made it so evident that the question of reparations was a financial problem, not a matter for revenge, that the reparations commission appointed two committees; one to determine how the German budget might be balanced and the currency stabilized, and the other to devise means for bringing German capital back to Germany. The first committee was headed by an American named Dawes and so became known as the Dawes Committee. After a careful investigation of all angles of the problem it submitted a report which was adopted and known as the Dawes Plan. Briefly stated the Dawes Plan had the following features. First, the Ruhr was evacuated. Second, an international loan was made to Germany upon the security of her railways and other resources, so that the mark could be stabilized and the economic life of the country could be restored to normal. Third, the reparations commission was superseded by an agent-general of reparations who resided in Berlin and supervised the matter. Fourth, a national bank (Reichsbank) was established in Germany with a monopoly of the issue of paper money. Fifth, for the next five years Germany paid annuities which began with the sum of one billion marks and gradually increased to two and one-half billion.

Nov. 30, 1923

Jan. 14–April 9, 1924

Aug., 1924

Sept. 1, 1924–July 31, 1925

1924–1927

G. Young Plan

The Dawes Plan worked well, but it was only an experiment, and after the five years expired the nations wanted a final settlement of the matter. For this purpose another committee of financial experts was appointed, headed by Owen D. Young of the United States. After several months of the most extensive investigation, during which the differences of the powers threat-

1928

Feb. 11–June 27, 1929

ened to block negotiations completely, they reached an agreement which was adopted and known as the Young Plan. The total amount which Germany was to pay, as expressed in terms of cash value, was fixed at almost exactly the amount which Germany had offered to pay at the London Conference, minus payments already made. A schedule of annuities was made out extending over a period of fifty-eight years, and tending to diminish during that time. The most valuable feature was the establishment of a Bank of International Settlement, which took over the duties of the agent-general in supervising reparations. In addition it was intended to act as a clearing house and reserve bank for the various national banks. The amount of the annuities assigned to Germany bore a close relation to the inter-allied debts. These debts were the sums which the allied governments had borrowed from each other, and since the United States was the only one which had loaned without borrowing, they were ultimately debts to the United States. These loans by the United States had been used chiefly to pay for reconstruction and other costs which were intended to be covered by German reparations. That meant that as the Germans made payments to the allies, the allies would have to use them to make payments to the United States. The last twenty-one annuities under the Young Plan were practically equal to the amounts which the allies had pledged to pay to the United States in those years. The difficulty was that the allies took the view that the United States was getting the reparations, and argued that if reparations were diminished the debts should also be reduced. Consequently, the Young Plan provided that if debts were reduced the amount of reparations should also be lowered.

June, 1929

H. Lausanne Treaty 1931

The Young Plan worked satisfactorily until the world-wide economic depression struck Germany. At the suggestion of President Hoover of the United States she was given a moratorium, but when it expired Germany was still in the grip of the depression. A conference was held at Lausanne and the Lausanne Treaty was signed, which provided that Germany should pay a total of only three billion marks and that this might be deferred for three years. However, a tacit agreement

July 9, 1932

was made that the treaty would not be ratified unless the United States reduced the inter-allied debts. The United States at once declared that the debts and reparations had no connection and the debts would not be reduced.

The history of the reparations transaction up to that point showed that the nations were experimenting with a problem so vast that they did not know how to handle it. Many mistakes were made. One thing at least became clear; namely, that the victors in war should not expect to reap profits from a war indemnity, for it is impossible to assess and collect a sufficient amount.

III. Disarmament
A. Efforts of League

Another international problem, whose importance was increased by the World War, was disarmament. The Treaty of Versailles not only disarmed Germany, but also announced definitely that this action was intended only as the beginning of the general disarmament of Europe. To the Council of the League of Nations it assigned the duty of devising and promoting some scheme of general disarmament. After several years the Council finally drafted a treaty which was intended to prepare the way for disarmament by providing the states that signed it with a guarantee of security. This guarantee was intended to make armaments unnecessary. However, the treaty was not accepted by a sufficient number of states, and thus the efforts of the League failed. Meanwhile the United States had taken the lead in the movement by calling the Washington Conference. At this meeting the five largest powers — Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan and Italy — agreed to stop building battleships for a period of ten years as soon as they had reached a certain ratio. But this agreement was incomplete because battleships constituted only a part of the naval forces of the nations, so another conference was called at Geneva to establish a ratio for all kinds of naval armaments. The Geneva Conference failed to reach any agreement at all. Two years later Herbert Hoover was made president of the United States at about the same time that Ramsay MacDonald became prime minister of Great Britain. Since both men favored disarmament, they united in calling the London Conference. Although public opinion in the two coun-

B. Washington Conference, 1921–1922

C. Geneva Conference, 1927

D. London Conference, 1930

tries was strongly in favor of some agreement, the attitude of Italy and France made any progress impossible. Neither was willing to forsake its reliance on armaments. However, a three-power pact was made between Great Britain, the United States and Japan by which they agreed to extend the Washington ratios to all classes of ships. The most important disarmament conference of all was the Geneva Conference called by the League of Nations. It opened on Feb. 2, 1932. After many months of discussion it adopted a resolution favoring certain fundamental principles of reduction in armaments and adjourned to meet in January of the next year. On the whole the disarmament movement was a failure in the post-war period.

E. Three-power pact

IV. Diplomatic relations

A. French security

The diplomatic relations of the post-war period involved many different problems and developments. One of these was the question of French security. France felt that she must gain some firm protection against another German attack such as the last one. The population of Germany was far larger than that of France. Her army had shown an efficiency fully equal if not superior to that of France. She had good reason to desire revenge for the humiliating defeat inflicted upon her in the Treaty of Versailles. Consequently France needed security. To gain it she began a long series of negotiations that resulted in a defensive alliance first with Belgium and then with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Thus she resorted to the old encircling tactics which had helped to bring on the World War.

1920, 1921, 1924, 1926, 1927

B. Italian imperialism

A second diplomatic development was Italian imperialism. By negotiations with Yugoslavia Italy extended the boundary of Italy to include Fiume. A little later she secured the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea and then a protectorate over Albania that was little less than annexation. Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, even went so far as to say that a Mediterranean empire was Italy's goal. This may have been mostly bluster, but Italy's imperialism was nevertheless a threat to be taken seriously. France even formed an alliance with Yugoslavia against Italy.

1926

1927

The recognition of Russia was a third diplomatic development of outstanding importance. At first the Soviet government had aimed to arouse a general proletariat revolution throughout the world. For this purpose it carried on an active propaganda in every country where it was possible to do so. Then a few years after the war there came a change. A party within the Bolshevists saw that Russia could not prosper without satisfactory trade relations with the rest of the world. Consequently Russia began to seek trade agreements and recognition by the powers. In return she promised to stop her propaganda to overthrow their governments. Germany was the first to give Russia recognition, and within the next few years almost all of the nations followed her example except the United States. Unfortunately, the Russians failed to keep their promise to stop revolutionary propaganda completely, and its partial continuance gave people reason to believe that the Bolshevists could not be trusted.

C. Recognition of Russia

1924

A fourth diplomatic feature of the post-war period was the formation of the Little Entente. This system of alliances started with antipathy to Hungary among the neighboring states. They had gained territory at her expense and had good reason to fear Hungarian revenge. On that account they formed a system of defensive alliances against her that was known as the Little Entente. The nations that were thus united were Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Poland.

D. Little Entente

1920–1921

The most promising diplomatic development for the welfare of the world was the series of peace pacts aiming to outlaw war. The first peace pact was made between Russia and the Russian borderlands at Moscow upon the initiative of Russia. By this pact they agreed to adopt a policy of nonaggression in their dealings with each other. It was indefinite and was never signed, but it stimulated the spirit of abolishing war as a means of settling disputes. The second of these pacts was the Locarno Treaties. These treaties were brought about by the fact that Stresemann and Briand, two pacific statesmen, happened to come to the head of the German and French governments at the same time. They sponsored the negotiations, which finally resulted in the signing of the treaties by a number of powers. Of these, France and Germany were the most im-

E. Peace pacts

Dec. 2, 1922

Dec. 1, 1925

portant. The chief decisions were: first, that the Franco-German frontier was accepted as permanently drawn; second, arbitration would be used in settling disputes; and, third, a country making an unprovoked resort to war would be outlawed. The third and most important of the series of pacts was the Paris Peace Pact of 1928. The negotiations leading to this agreement were started by Briand of France and sponsored chiefly by Kellogg, Secretary of State for the United States. It was an indefinite statement in which the signatory powers condemned war as a solution for international controversies, renounced the use of it in their relations with each other, and agreed to use only pacific means in the settlement of their disputes. It was first signed by the representatives of the fifteen states which negotiated it at Paris, and then thrown open to signature by other states. Soon more than thirty had signed it. It lacked any effective machinery for enforcement, but it went far toward building up something more important than such machinery; namely, a spirit of good-will that was in decided contrast with the spirit of suspicion that had done so much to cause the World War. It was significant that for the first time since 1870 a German foreign minister was officially received in Paris.

April 27, 1928

V. General tendencies

A. Spread of democracy

During the post-war period certain general tendencies of development were characteristic of Europe on the whole. One was the spread of democracy. There were more republics in Europe than before the war. Besides, progressive democratic institutions were more common, such as woman suffrage and proportional representation. In general the new republics preferred to model their constitutions upon the French system of many parties and a long term for the president.

B. Increase in dictatorships

Another general tendency was the increase in the number of dictatorships; for instance, in Poland, Russia and Italy. This was caused largely by the breakdown of parliamentary government. In many countries the people had no experience of self-government to fit them for the sudden acquisition of the privilege. Besides, the multiple party system tended to absorb the activities of parliaments in paltry squabbles, while the government failed to do things. The consequence was a revolt against the inefficiency of the government and a reaction to a strong man who would get things done. This was not as contradictory to democracy as it seemed, because the dictator almost always governed for the benefit of the governed. Usually the dictator gained a monopoly of the government for his own political party. By the use of these and other features there gradually developed a new form of government in Europe that in many countries supplanted democracy.

C. Rise of the proletariat

A third general tendency was the rise of the proletariat. This was due largely to the disastrous effect of the post-war period upon the middle class capitalist. In almost all the countries except Great Britain the currency was greatly inflated. Inflation meant that the people who had small savings lost them completely, because either their debts were paid in worthless paper money, or they lost everything when the paper money was repudiated. On the contrary it helped the peasants, because they could pay off the mortgages on their farms with comparative ease. In many countries there was a sweeping land reform by which the land held in great estates was seized by the government, either with or without compensation, and sold or given to the peasants. In Great Britain the same result was accomplished by placing a heavy direct tax on land, so that the big landlords found it more profitable to dispose of their land than to pay taxes. In some countries there was a deliberate class war in which the proletariat tried to gain supremacy over the bourgeoisie in the same way that the bourgeoisie had gained control during the preceding century. In Russia the proletariat were successful, and in some other nations they approximated success.

D. Growth of excessive nationalism

One of the most important general tendencies was the growth of excessive nationalism. The rearrangement of boundaries was largely determined by an attempt to separate the different nationalities and give each the right to govern itself. This increased the number of nations and at the same time stimulated their rivalries. In some ways it was a benefit and in some ways an injury, for while it gave some nationalities the independence for which they were striving, it encouraged them to be domineering in the treatment of others. The incentives to conflict were increased rather than diminished by the growth of nationalism.

E. Multiplication of tariff barriers

The multiplication of tariff barriers was another general tendency of the post-war period. The former states kept their old system of tariffs and the new states erected new economic walls as soon as they achieved sovereignty. These barriers did an immense amount of harm, for they cut across the trade routes of Europe in the same vicious way that the provincial tariff lines of the Old Régime had done in France. They made it more difficult than ever to restore the delicate balance of European trade which had been ruined by the war.

SUGGESTED BOOKS AND READINGS

Selected Readings

1. **The New Map of Europe,** J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe,* rev. ed., II, 392–403.
2. **The Reparations Problem,** F. W. Scott and F. Baltzly, *Readings in European History Since 1814,* 668–673.
3. **The Problem of Reparations,** F. L. Benns, *Europe Since 1914,* 252–281.
4. **The Dawes Report and the Young Plan,** W. H. Cooke and E. P. Stickney, *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879,* 938–945, 1017–1029.
5. **Projects for Peace,** J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe,* rev. ed., II, 550–559.
6. **The Conference of Washington,** C. D. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815,* 1060–1080.
7. **The Text of the Locarno Treaties,** W. H. Cooke and E. P. Stickney, *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879,* 960–971.
8. **The Briand-Kellogg Pact,** W. H. Cooke and E. P. Stickney, *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879,* 998–1006.
9. **The Locarno and Briand-Kellogg Pacts,** F. W. Scott and F. Baltzly, *Readings in European History Since 1814,* 682–689.
10. **The Peace Pacts,** F. L. Benns, *Europe Since 1914,* 362–374.

Standard Historical Works

See also the suggested books and readings for chapter XLVII.

F. Alexander, *From Paris to Locarno and After,* London, 1928.

R. L. Buell, *Europe, a History of Ten Years,* New York, 1929.

H. A. Gibbons, *Europe Since 1918,* New York, 1923.

R. B. Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy, 1914–1925,* New York, 1927.

CHAPTER XLVII

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

I. Russia

A. Establishment of soviet republic

In Russia the establishment of soviet rule after the revolution of 1917 was a long and difficult process. Fighting did not end with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This was because portions of Russia revolted. The new Russian borderlands showed an aggressive spirit, and in some areas the allies landed troops to help armies that were fighting against the Bolshevist government. Fortunately for Russia, Leon Trotzky proved to be an army organizer of exceptional ability, and after several years of fighting the Bolshevist forces successfully subdued all revolts and repelled all invasions except that of the Poles. Meanwhile there was a reign of terror in Russia. The government arrested people on the slightest suspicion of disloyalty to the new régime, and thousands were killed ferociously with little regard for justice. For instance, the tsar and his family were imprisoned in a small town, and when the enemy's army approached too near for safety the jailer ordered the whole royal family to be shot.

1921

B. Constitution

July 6, 1923

After several years of development the new constitution reached its final form. Russia and the other regions that adopted the soviet form were organized into a federation of seven republics called the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Union, like each of the republics, was composed of a graded system of soviets; that is, councils of people engaged in the same occupation. The urban soviets were given more power than the rural soviets. The provincial and city soviets elected representatives to a Union Congress which met every two years for one week. The Congress elected a large Executive Committee and also a cabinet of ministers called the Council of Commissars. The real power rested in the hands of the leaders of the Communist Party (the new name for the Bolshevist party), because the party was so powerfully organized that it was able to secure a monopoly of government offices. No other party was permitted to exist. For many years Lenin, the first great Bolshevist leader, was unofficial dictator of Russia. In his honor the name of Petrograd was changed to 1924 Leningrad. After his death there was a bitter struggle between the chiefs of the Bolshevists for control, which finally resulted in the elevation of Stalin to the position of virtual dictator. Suffrage in the soviet government was restricted to the productive workers and their housekeepers. Nobody who lived on an income, or by the labor of others, or who was a clergyman, was allowed to vote. Thus Russia developed a new type of government in which the chief features were the rule of the proletariat, dictatorship, a vocational basis for representation, and the abolition of personal liberty.

C. Economic policy

The economic policy of soviet Russia started with a sweeping nationalization of land, factories, precious metals and even surplus agricultural products. The government took away from the wealthy peasants all that they produced above their needs, and organized the poor peasants to spy upon them. In a short time this drastic policy of nationalization proved to be a failure. When the peasants found that any surplus products were confiscated, they ceased to produce more than they needed. At the same time bad weather caused a crop failure, and the result 1921 was a terrible famine. Hordes of people starved to death and many more were only saved by the heroic efforts of relief societies, many of them from outside Russia. The workers proved incompetent to run the factories, and the currency was 1921 inflated until it became practically worthless.

Out of this crisis there arose a new economic policy which was a compromise between a communistic and capitalistic system. The currency was stabilized. A tax was placed upon the peasants instead of taking away their surplus produce from them, and once more they began to grow more than they themselves needed. The small factories were returned to private ownership. Most important of all, strenuous efforts were made to restore normal trade relations with other countries. Commercial treaties were negotiated and foreign capitalists were encouraged to invest their money in Russia. With the help of this capital the government reorganized the large factories on a profitable basis. The poorer peasants were grouped on huge coöperative farms managed by the government. The result of the new economic policy was a mixture of state socialism, state capitalism and private capitalism — a mixture which proved more successful than pure communism. Finally a Five Year Plan was adopted by which the economic resources of the country were elaborately organized in a gigantic effort to increase agricultural and industrial production. Each field of production was given a quota to be attained within five years. At the end of that time it was found that many branches had not attained their quotas, but others, such as machine building, had surpassed their allotments. On the whole there was a marvelous economic growth. Still the output of agriculture and industry were not equal to the needs of the population and a second Five Year Plan was begun.

Oct. 1, 1928–Dec. 31, 1932

D. Special reforms

The Russian government also made many drastic social reforms. For instance, the old ecclesiastical calendar that was thirteen days behind time was abolished, and the Western calendar was adopted. A variety of progressive educational experiments was started, and a movement was begun to wipe out illiteracy. The Bolshevists were violently anti-religious. The Greek Orthodox Church was disestablished and all of its property, except that necessary for religious worship, was taken away. For a time religious organizations were allowed to propagate their beliefs freely, but when the Bolshevists found that this resulted in a rapid growth of Protestantism with a social program of its own, they made a law that only atheists could propagate their beliefs. On the whole, however, the mass of the Russian people continued to practice their religion much the same as before.

April, 1929

II. Germany

A. Division of socialists

The first important development in the history of Germany, after the revolution which overthrew the monarchy and established a republic, was a division in the ranks of the Socialists. The majority of the Social Democratic Party, which controlled the provisional government, wanted a constituent assembly to establish a typical democratic state. The minority of the party, however, were afraid this would give the power to the bourgeoisie, as it had always done, so they took the name Independent Social Democratic Party, opposed the calling of a constituent convention, and advocated a government by workers' and soldiers' councils. Jan. 1, 1919 Still another group, known as the Spartacists, wanted a Bolshevist type of government and took the name Communist Party. Dec. 16, 1918 A congress of representatives from the workers' and soldiers' councils gave its support to the Majority Socialists. This showed the Communists that they could not attain their ends by legal means, so they started a revolution in Berlin, Jan. 5–15, 1919 but after several days of bitter street-fighting were subdued. Then a constituent assembly was elected.

B. Weimar Assembly

The assembly met at Weimar, in order to be free from the riotous elements in Berlin, and first of all elected as President of Germany Friedrich Ebert, the leader of the Majority Socialists. July 31, 1919 Then they drew up a constitution known as the Weimar Constitution. It provided for a republic composed of a federation of eighteen republics under a strong, centralized national government. The national government was similar in many ways to that of France; the president was elected for a long term of seven years; the real executive power was in the hands of the chancellor; the legislative power was given to a parliament of two houses in which the lower house, called the Reichstag, and representing the people, was most important; and there was a multiple party system. The constitution also had several advanced features; such as universal suffrage (including woman suffrage) and proportional representation. As a compromise with the Independent Socialists it provided for workers' councils to regulate labor conditions, and for a way by which the government might acquire possession of any private business fit for socialization.

C. Revolts

The new government was greeted by revolts. On one side the Communists resorted to riots and strikes, but were always defeated. March, 1920 On the other side the Monarchists organized an army and marched on Berlin. They captured the city, but the government appealed to the people successfully to join in a general strike, and the result was the expulsion of the Monarchists.

They then resorted to a campaign of assassination, and even tried to organize another revolution in Bavaria led by Ludendorff. However, the result, as always, was failure. 1921 1923

D. Depreciation of the mark

One of the most serious problems of the German Republic was the depreciation of the mark. This was the natural result of an inflation of the currency by the printing of larger quantities of paper marks than the credit of the government justified. The result was that the capitalists who had money to invest, invested it in stable forms of wealth such as land and foreign currency, and thus became rich. At the same time the people who depended upon wages or the income from investments were impoverished. Thus inflation was really a form of taxation levied upon the people who had loaned money to the government or bought the paper currency, because the government used it to pay them and yet it was worth far less than its face value. Finally the farmers and merchants refused to sell their goods. 1923 This showed that the paper currency was worthless, so the government practically repudiated it. 1923–1924 Then with the help of the Dawes loan Germany issued a new currency stabilized at the rate of 4.2 marks to the dollar.

E. Hindenburg

It happened that President Ebert died before his term expired, and the result was a new election in which Hindenburg, the hero of the World War, was elected by a large majority. 1925 This meant a strengthening of the republic, because he was firmly loyal to the constitution. A few years later he was reëlected by a large majority. 1928

F. Economic recovery

During the post-war period Germany experienced a remarkable economic recovery. This was partly due to the fact that the German factories, farms and mines were in good physical condition, uninjured by the war. The depreciation of the mark also helped, because it enabled employers to get labor and capital at a low rate. Foreign trade revived so rapidly that in a few years it equaled its pre-war volume. 1928 Before long, however, this recovery was halted by two obstacles: the worldwide economic depression and political strife.

III. France

A. Reconstruction

The chief problem faced by France in the post-war period was the reconstruction of the devastated areas in the north, where trenches had scarred the country, where the ground was full of unexploded shells, where barbed wire was strewn across the fields, and the towns were a heap of ruins. The government adopted the new policy that it was the obligation of the nation to pay the costs of restoring private property to its pre-war condition. In order to do this a special budget was organized and huge sums of money were borrowed to finance the undertaking. The inhabitants put in their claims, the government gave them the money they needed, and in a few years the débris of war was cleared away and new buildings were erected all through northern France. It was an amazing achievement. Whole cities were constructed, railways built and farms restored.

B. Financial crisis

Unfortunately the cost of reconstruction helped to involve France in a terrible financial crisis. The post-war ministries spent money recklessly. Instead of increasing taxes, they resorted to such substitutes for taxation as the inflation of the currency. The money borrowed to provide for the special reconstruction budget was intended to be repaid from German reparations, but the reparations payments failed to be of much value for many years. Consequently the special budget was accumulating huge interest charges without any income to meet them. Finally the value of the franc went so low, and the debts of the government piled so high, that France was almost bankrupt. Then the French showed their remarkable ability to respond to an emergency. A special ministry was formed led by Poincaré. The budget was simplified, and the special reconstruction budget absorbed in the national budget. Heavy taxes were levied, the franc was stabilized at a value of 25.19 to the dollar, and before the year was out there was a surplus in the treasury. The dark side of the story was that much of this success was gained by robbing the creditors of the government, as had been done in Germany.

July, 1926

Dec. 20, 1926

C. Alsace-Lorraine

Another of the difficult problems of France was Alsace-Lorraine. The recovery of the two disputed provinces proved to be far from the joyous reunion that people had imagined. There were several causes of friction between them and France. One was language. Most of the inhabitants of the two provinces spoke a dialect of German, yet in spite of that fact French was made the official and dominant language. Religion was another source of disagreement. Alsace and Lorraine had been part of Germany when church and state were separated in France. The Germans had allowed the terms of the Concordat of 1801 to govern the relations of church and state in the two provinces. For a few years the French government overlooked the problem, until a Socialist ministry decided to enforce the same laws in Alsace-Lorraine as in the rest of France. The result was resistance and finally a religious compromise. On another problem the solution was not so favorable to the provinces. The Germans had given them a local legislature just 1911 before the war, but in France the departments were given no such autonomy. Consequently Alsace and Lorraine were divided into three departments like those in the rest of the 1919 nation, and their legislature ignored. Naturally the inhabitants were not pleased by this loss of local autonomy.

IV. Great Britain

A. Coalition cabinet

In Great Britain the government was directed during the first years of the post-war period by a coalition cabinet under the premiership of Lloyd George. The coalition cabinet had originated during the war, when there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the Liberal ministry of Asquith, and Lloyd George had forced him out of office. 1916 At the end of the war there was another general election, Dec., 1918 in which the coalition cabinet gained a strong majority. At first everything went well,

1. Economic problem

because the countries engaged in reconstruction bought heavily from Great Britain, but after two years of this false prosperity the amount of British exports suffered a serious decline. 1920 The coalition cabinet found itself facing a serious economic problem due to a change in Great Britain's economic relation to the rest of the world. During the nineteenth century the British had exported a large amount of manufactured goods. In the twentieth century the demand for these goods declined for many reasons. The fundamental reason was that other countries had developed their own industries. In addition the war created other obstacles to British trade; for example, the habit of buying British goods had been stopped in many countries by the long blockade. Building it anew was hampered by the new tariff walls and by new competitors. The consequence was that Great Britain found herself producing more goods than could be sold. On the other hand production could not be satisfactorily lowered, because the large majority of the population was engaged in industry and depended upon it for a living. Thus Great Britain faced a dilemma in which it seemed impossible to find a solution. Unemployment increased until millions of people were jobless and had to be supported by the state with an allowance called the dole. The coalition government found no solution for the problem, and neither did the other ministries that followed in the post-war period.

2. Irish settlement

In dealing with the Irish question Lloyd George was more successful. After the proposal of various forms of Home Rule, and after a long period of lawlessness and civil war, a settlement was finally reached. According to this settlement the northern part of Ireland, known as Ulster, was given its own parliament, but remained a part of Great Britain. The southern part of Ireland was given a dominion status under the name of the Irish Free State. (June, 1921; Dec. 6, 1922)

B. Labor ministry

The Irish settlement was so displeasing to the Conservatives in the coalition cabinet that they forced Lloyd George to resign. Then they advocated a protective tariff in order to solve the economic problem, and called for a general election on the issue. (1923) They failed to gain a majority in the election, and so they gave the government to their nearest competitors — the Labor Party. (Jan., 1924) It was the first time the Labor Party had gained control, and they formed a ministry led by J. Ramsay MacDonald. Since they too lacked a majority, they were unable to make any important changes in Great Britain, but in foreign policy they adopted a pacific attitude and recognized Russia. This action turned public opinion against them, and in the next election the Conservatives gained a large majority. (Feb. 1, 1924)

C. Conservative ministry, 1924–1929

They stayed in office for the full term of five years under the premiership of Stanley Baldwin. During that time they defeated an attempt at a general strike and completed the establishment of universal suffrage by giving women the franchise on the same terms as men. (1928) However, they were defeated by the Laborites in the next election and MacDonald became prime minister once more. Since he lacked a majority, he was

D. Second labor ministry
1929
1931

forced to govern with the help of the other parties. Consequently, no radical changes were made. All the parties wanted stability more than supremacy, because in the serious economic situation stability was essential to a recovery of business. For that reason they made no effort to overthrow the Labor government as long as MacDonald followed a moderate policy. Then the world-wide economic depression caused such a great crisis that a coalition cabinet was formed headed by MacDonald.

V. Italy
A. Dissatisfaction
B. Fascisti
March, 1919
Oct., 1922

In Italy the post-war period saw a greater advance than any since the days of the unification. At the close of the war there was a wide-spread spirit of dissatisfaction in Italy. The Italians felt that they had been deprived of the justly earned fruits of victory, because more territory had not been awarded them. They were also alarmed by the spread of communism and by the apparent inability of the government to control it. Groups of citizens were formed called Fascists (from *fascio*, union) who took matters in their own hands and gradually suppressed the Communists. The leading group was formed at Milan by a newspaper editor named Mussolini. After the Fascists had vanquished the Communists and become a strong political party, they held a congress at Naples. There they issued an ultimatum to the ministry that it must either make reforms or resign. When it failed to do either, the Fascists marched on Rome.

C. Rule of Mussolini

The superior power of the Fascists was so evident that the king called upon Mussolini to form a cabinet, and soon he was given practically dictatorial powers. Mussolini's power rested largely upon the monopoly of the government by the Fascist Party. Any government official could be dismissed for holding different political views from Mussolini. The Italians were organized on the basis of occupation into national corporations (or syndics) of employers and employees, which had control of labor conditions. This was called state syndicalism. The administration and finances of the government were made efficient. Education was stimulated. A special effort was made to promote industry, but Mussolini was hampered by the fact that Italy lacked the raw materials so necessary to progress. The merchant marine grew enormously with the help of government subsidies. One of the dictator's greatest achievements was the Vatican Treaty, by which the long-standing dispute between the pope and Italy was settled. This treaty had three parts. The first gave to the pope the Vatican and a small surrounding district in full sovereignty to be known as the State of the Vatican City. The second adjusted the relations of church and state in Italy by recognizing the Roman Catholic as the only state religion, agreeing to pay the salaries of bishops, legalizing church marriages, and making religious education compulsory. The third provided an indemnity for the loss to the pope of the papal states. There was considerable opposition to Mussolini, but he suppressed it so ruthlessly that at the end of a decade his position was just as strong as ever.

Feb. 11, 1929

VI. Russian borderlands

A. Common features

In the Russian borderlands the four countries of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania had many features in common. All of them had to repulse the Bolshevists on one hand and overcome German efforts to dominate them on the other. All finally became republics, and in all there were nationalistic minorities that caused friction. They all carried through a land reform, by which the great estates of former days were broken up and the land distributed among the peasants. The chief problem in each state was its economic relation to Russia. They possessed the ports which Russia needed for foreign trade, and on the other hand Russia controlled the vast agricultural hinterland upon which their ports depended. Economically Russia and the four Baltic states were intended to be united, and the problem was to devise some plan of economic union which would not endanger their political independence. During the post-war period only a beginning was made in solving this problem.

B. Poland

Dec., 1918–Jan., 1919

Poland had a different history from the other borderlands because in Poland the first problem was unity of action. At the close of the war unity between the different groups working for Polish independence was achieved by the joint efforts of General Pilsudski and Paderewski. From the first Poland was militaristic. In defiance of the Congress of Paris she extended her frontiers by conquest and even robbed Lithuania of her chief city of Vilna. So bitter was the antipathy between different parties in the country that it took several years to draft 1918–1921 a constitution, and then the first president was assassinated almost as soon as he was elected. The Poles proved thoroughly incompetent to maintain a parliamentary system of government, because the strife between the many factions was so fierce that parliament accomplished almost nothing. At last Pilsudski seized control of the government by a *coup d'état* 1926 and after that ruled practically as dictator. Progress was made in reconstruction of the vast devastated areas, and the finances were placed on a firm basis, but instability still continued to be the chief danger threatening the future of Poland. Hostility ruled within and without the turbulent country. One of the chief problems was the Polish Corridor; that is, the section of West Prussia given to Poland as a path to the Baltic Sea. It cut off the eastern part of Germany from the rest of the country and thus offended the Germans.

VII. Succession states

A. Austria

Austria was the first of the succession states to break away from the Dual Monarchy officially. A republic was established and overtures made for union with Germany, but the allied powers forbade it. Austria's chief problem was economic, because the Austro-Hungarian Empire had formed a well balanced, self-sufficing economic unity. That unity was now broken, and Austria, which was mainly industrial, was left without a large enough agricultural area to supply it with foodstuffs. The new republic was divided into the industrial city of Vienna, far too large for the nation, and the agricultural provinces. Between the two there was not only an economic difference, but a political hostility as well. Soon after the war a serious economic crisis developed. Austria became practically bankrupt, and finally appealed to the League of Nations for aid. By means of a loan, reorganization of finances and a moratorium on reparations the crisis was safely 1922 passed.

B. Hungary

Hungary passed through a period of bitter suffering in the first part of the post-war period. Soon after the armistice a Nov. 16, 1918 devoted patriot named Karolyi established a democratic republic. Then a party of Communists led by Bela Kun overthrew the government and erected a new system modeled on the soviet government of Russia. But their methods were so brutal that the people turned against them. At about the same time the Rumanians invaded the country and the Communists were driven out. Still the situation was hardly improved, because the Rumanians plundered the land ruthlessly until the allies intervened. Finally the monarchist classes, which had ruled the nation before the war, reëstablished the monarchy. Since the allies forbade them to permit the return of the Hapsburgs, the throne was left vacant, and the country was ruled by a regent named Admiral Horthy. Of all the succession states Hungary was the least changed politically by the war.

March 21, 1919

Nov., 1919

1920

C. Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia was the most stable of the succession states. From the first she was fortunate in having at the head of her government two capable statesmen, Masaryk and Benesh, who had sufficient tact to deal wisely with the nationalistic minorities. Economically the country was rich and prospered both in industry and agriculture. A thorough land reform was made, which put most of the land in the hands of the peasants.

D. Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia was not so fortunate. The chief difficulty was the mixture of races within the country. In spite of all the propaganda for union of the Slavs, friction began at once. The chief dispute was between the Croats, who demanded a federal type of government, and the Serbs, who wanted a highly centralized government so that they could dominate it. For several years the dispute dragged on without reaching any settlement, until finally King Alexander seized control by a *coup d'état* and made himself dictator. However, this did not solve the problem, but only restrained the antagonistic elements.

1929

VIII. Balkans

The chief characteristic of the Balkan countries during the post-war period was the same old difficulty of instability. The same bitter rivalry which had existed before the war still continued. The strongest state was Rumania. The chief development in that country was the growth of the Peasants' Party. Finally it became so powerful that it gained control of the government and carried through a sweeping land reform in the interests of the peasants. They also reformed the finances and

Dec. 12, 1928

greatly improved the condition of roads and other government works.

On the whole the post-war period was a time of progress. Not only was much done in reconstruction of devastated areas, but an advance was made toward a new and in some ways a better era. A new type of government was developed in Russia, Italy and other countries. Serious efforts were made to outlaw war and disarm the nations. Great changes were made in the organization of society. Though many of the old handicaps of militarism, racial hostility and national suspicion remained, the way was prepared for a new and better Europe.

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